This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

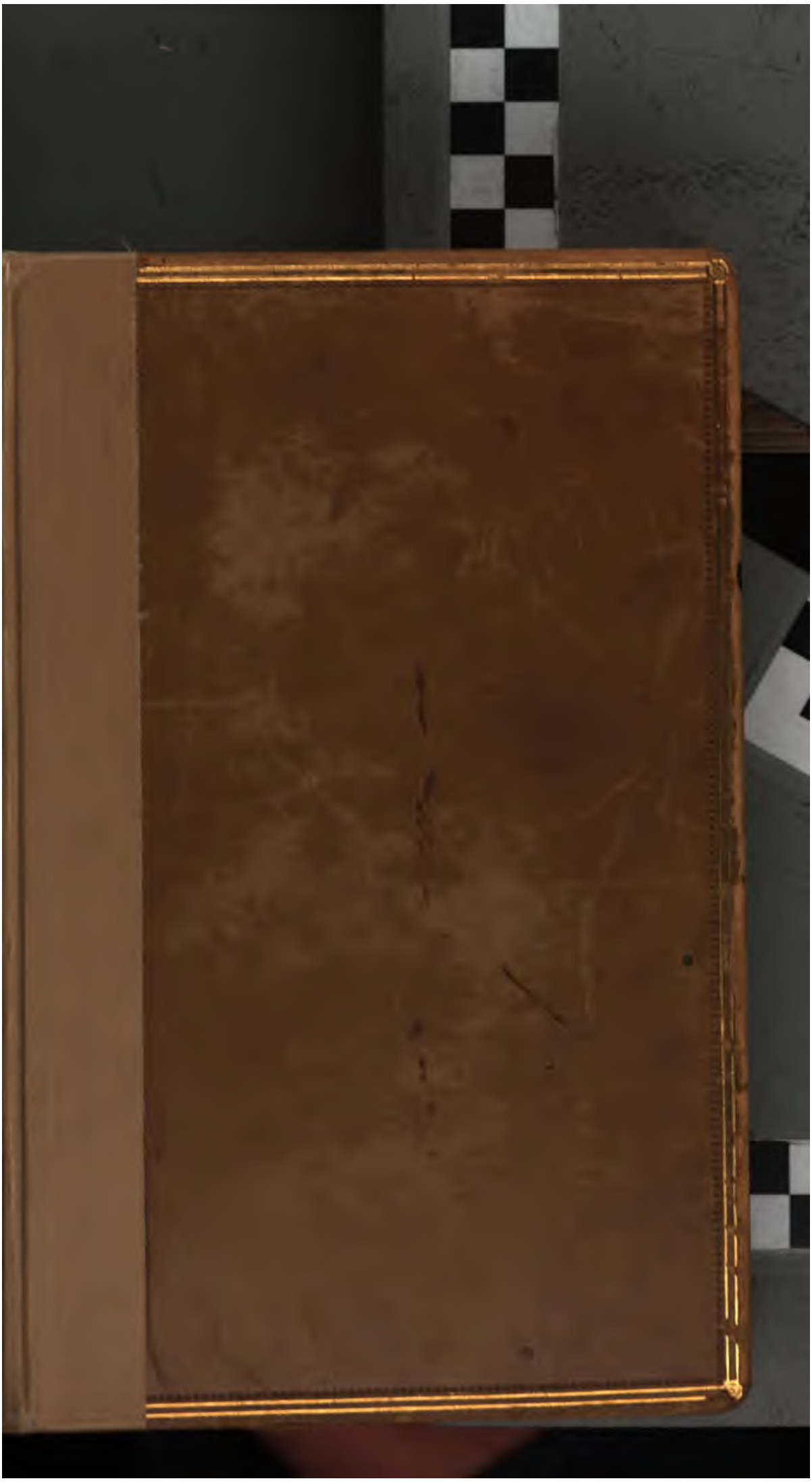
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

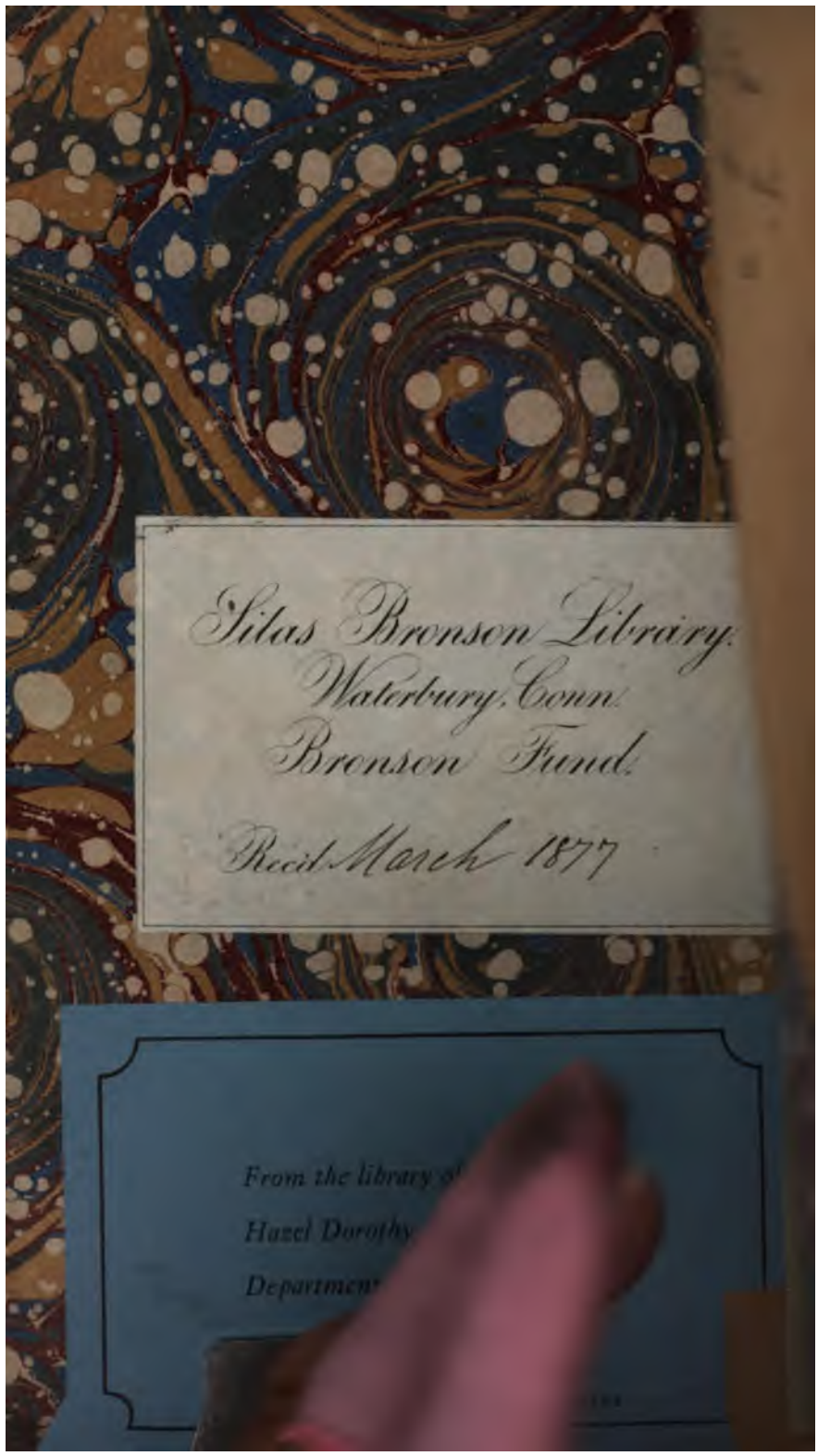
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

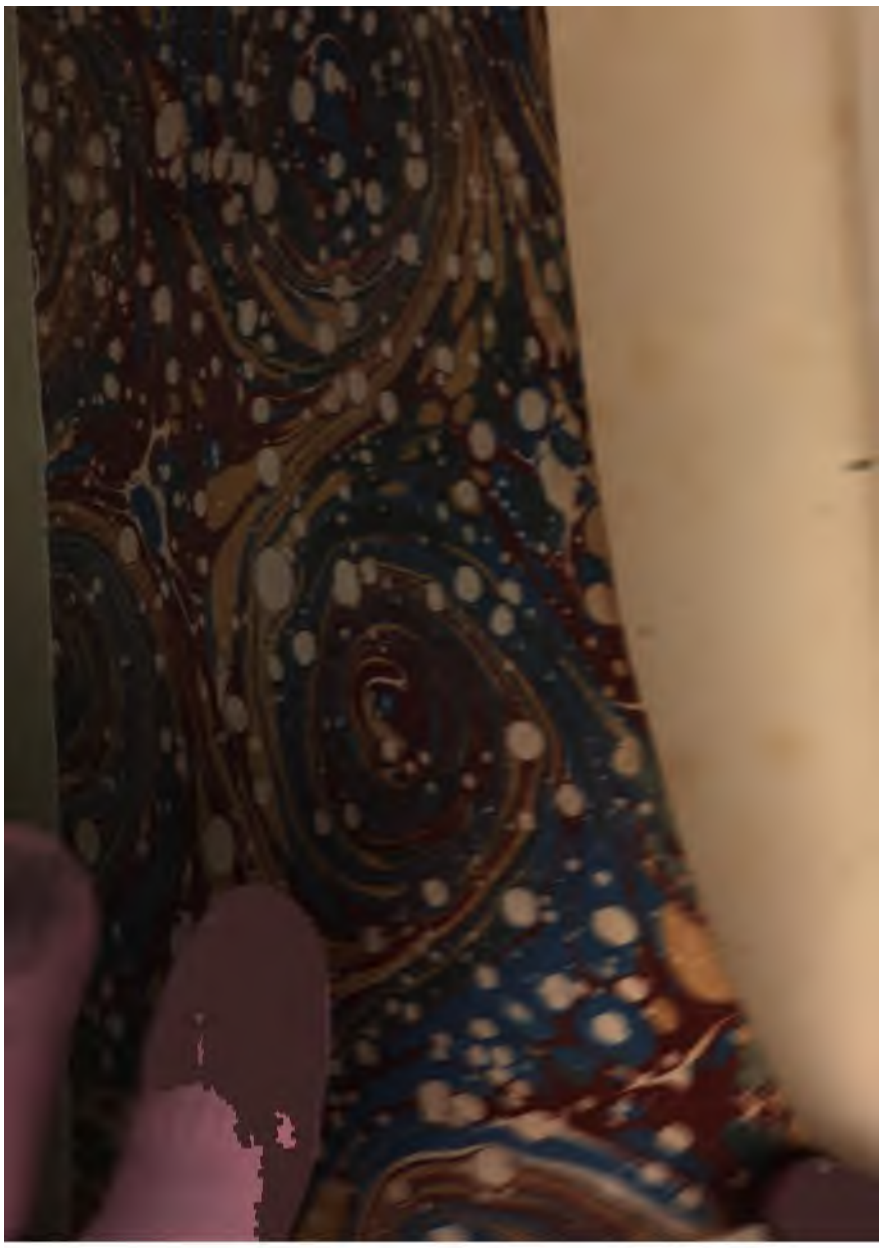
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`




Silas Bronson Library.
Waterbury, Conn.
Bronson Fund.
Recd March 1877
From the library of
Hazel Dorothy
Departmen



Hazel D Hansen.
Stanford University.
Calif

TRAVELS

IN

NORTHERN GREECE.

BY

WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE, F.R.S. &c

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:
J. RODWELL, NEW BOND STREET.

1835.

DF725
L43
v.3

LONDON:
GILBERT & RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

12662

CONTENTS

TO

VOLUME III.

CHAPTER XXII.

THIRD JOURNEY.

EPIRUS, LEUCAS, ITHACA, CEPHALLENIA.

PAGE

Departure from Corfú—Capes *Leucimne*, *Amphipagus*—Islands *Sybota*—Arpítza, *Chimerium*—Parga, *Toryne*—Ai Iánni, *Buchætium*—Porto Fanári, *Glycys Limen*, or *Elæa*—Elía—Riniássa—Agriapidhiá—Amaxíkhi in Lefkádha—Kaligóni, *Leucas*—*Dioryctus*—Meganisí—Kálamo—Gulf of Molo in *Ithaca*—Mount *Neritum*—Skhino, Dhexiá, Vathy—*Echinades*—Aetó—Anoí—Oxoí—Polis—Mount *Neium*, *Rheithrum*—*Alcomenæ*—*Ægilips*—*Crocyleia*—*Dulichium*—*Oxeiæ* or *Thoæ*—Frikes—Kióni—Port Lia—Fountain *Arethusa* and rock *Corax*—Samo in Kefalonía, *Same*—*Siege of Same by Fulvius*—Puláta—Farakláta—Argostóli—Kraniá, *Cranii*—Lixúri, *Pale*—Population and productions of Kefalonía—*Proni*, *Assus*, *Atella*, *Tophus*, *Heraclia*, *Erissus*, *Panormus*..... 1

CHAPTER XXIII.

CYTHERA, ÆGÆAN ISLANDS.

Arrival at Tzerigo—Kapsáli—*Cythera*, *Phœnicus*, *Scandeia*—Milo—Khora—Kastro—Ruins of *Melus*—Paro, ancient city—Description of the Island—Andíparo—Ancient Quarries of *Parus*—Kostó—Mármara—Naxía, *Naxus*—Island of Paláti—Villages, Population, Produce—Dhiles—*Delus*, *Hierum of Apollo*,

PAGE

Mount *Cynthus*, *Olympium*—*Rheneia*—Mýkono, *Myconus*—Skyro, *Scyrus*—Port *Achilleium*—Skánghero—*Scopelus*, *Sciathus*, *Halonesus*, *Icus*—Aistráti 69

CHAPTER XXIV.

MACEDONIA.

Monasteries near the southern extremity of Athos—Arrival at Xeropotámi—Other monasteries on the southern side of the Peninsula—Town of Karyés—Ivíron—Filótheo—Mylopótamo—Lavra—Karakálo—Stavronikíta—Pandokrátora—Vatopédhi—Ancient Inscriptions—Siménu—Khilandári—Próvlaka—*Isthmus of Acte*—*Sane*—*Canal of Xerxes*—Erissó, *Acanthus*—Ancient cities of *Acte*, *Sithonia*, and *Pallene* 114

CHAPTER XXV.

MACEDONIA.

Stratóni, *Stratoniceia*—Nízvoro—Mines of lead and silver—Lybjádha—Kafkaná—*Caprus*—Stavros, *Stageirus*—Gulf of *Posidium*, plain *Syleus*, lake *Bolbe*, *Aulon*, *Arethusa*, *Bromiscus*—*Argilus*—Ferry of *Strymon*—*Eion*—Orfaná, *Phagres*—

CHAPTER XXVII.

MACEDONIA.

PAGE

Departure from Saloníki—Tekelí—Bridge of the Vardhári or *Axius*—Aláklisi, or Apostólus—*Pella*—Yenidjé, or Iánnitza—Paleókastro—River of Moglená—Vodhená, *Edessa*—Vládova—Ancient Inscriptions at Vodhená—*Via Egnatia*—Niáusta, *Citium*—Vérria, *Berrhœa*—Kastaniá—Mount *Bermium*—Khádova—Plain of Budjá—Djumá—*Eordœa*—Sulinária—Kózani..... 258

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MACEDONIA, PERRHÆBIA.

Tjersembá—Geography of *Upper Macedonia—Elimeia, Eordœa, Orestis, Lyncestis, Pœonia, Pelagonia—Compaign of Sulpicius against Philip—Tripolitis of Pelagonia—Stymbara—Pelium—Dassaretia—Antipatria*, &c.—Sérvia, *Volustana*—Livádhi—Pass of Petra—*Tripolitis of Perrhœbia—Pythium, Azorus, Doliche*—Elassóna, *Oloosson*—Mount *Titarus*, River *Titaresius*—Mount *Olympus*—Tzarítzena—Pass of Melúna—Túrnavo 302

CHAPTER XXIX.

THESSALIA.

Túrnavo—Manufactures—Kastrí—Tatári—Lárissa—Paleá Lárissa, *Crannon—Argissa—Atrax—Metropolis*—Karalár—Marmarianí, *Sycurium*—First Campaign of the *Persic War—Scea—Mopsium—Phalanna—Elateia—Gyrton*—Kiserlí—Makrikhóri—Vale of Derelí—Babá—Ascent of Mount *Ossa*—Ambelákia, its productions, &c.—Lykóstomo, *Gonnus*—Pass of Lykóstomo, *Tempe*—River *Peneius*—Ancient descriptions of *Tempe—Gonnocondylus—Charax*—Castle of *Tempe* 353

CHAPTER XXX.

MACEDONIA.

Bridge of Salamvría—Karítza—*Homole*—Platamóna, *Heracleium*—River of Platamóna, *Apilas*—Litókhoro—Mount *Olympus*—

PAGE

Malathriá, *Dium*—River *Baphyrus*—Spighi—Katerína—*Passage of Olympus by the Consul Marcius—Callipeuce, Phila,* River *Enipeus, Libethrium, Pimpleia—March of the Consul beyond Dium—Agassæ—Valla*— River *Mitys—Hatera—Ascordus*—Ayán—Kitro—Paleós Kitros—Eleftherokhóri—*Position of Perseus on the Enipeus—Defeat of the Macedonians at Petra—Battle of Pydna—Pydna—Methone—Alorus*—Rivers *Haliacmon, Lydias, Axius*—Return to Saloníki 401

CHAPTER XXXI.

MACEDONIA.

Comparative Geography of *Macedonia*—River Gallikó, *Echidorus*—Doirán, *Tauriana—Gallicum—Stobi—Stena* of the *Axius—Idomene—Invasion of Sitalces*—Mount *Cercine—Gortynia—Europus—Almopia—Emathia—Mædi—Amphaxia—Anthemus—Mygdonia—Crossæa*—Mount *Cissus—Bottiatæ—Chalcidenses—Apollonia* of *Chalcidice—Olynthus—Apollonia* of *Mygdonia—Lete—Pæonia*—Strúmitza—*Astræum*—Roman roads from *Stobi*—Velesá, *Bylazora—Almana, Desudaba, Mædica*—Ivorína, *Jamphorina*—Mount *Scomius—Dentheletæ, Bessi*—Istíp, *Astapus*—Ghiustendíl, *Pautalia—Theranda, Ulpiana*—Towns on the *Mathis*—Skópia, *Scupi*—Edict of *Amphipolis* after the conquest by *Paullus*—Limits of the *four regions*—Coins of the *Tetrarchy*..... 439

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ÆTOLIA, ACARNANIA.

PAGE

Kurt-agá, *Calydon*—*Temple of Diana Laphria*—River *Evenus* —Mount *Chalcis*—Aía Triádha—Neokhóri—Stamná—*Œtolo-Acarnanian* agriculture—Return to Neokhóri—Magúla —Kurtzolári—Katokhí—Trikardhó-kastro, *Œniadæ*—*March of Philip* from *Limnæa* to *Œniadæ*—*Phœteiæ*—*Medeon*—*Metropolis*—*Conope, Ithoria, Pæanium*—*Elæus*—*Artemita*—*Oxeiæ* —Lakes *Melite, Cynia, Uria*—Lake of *Calydon*—Course of the *Achelous* below *Œniadæ* 533

TRAVELS

IN

NORTHERN GREECE.

THIRD JOURNEY.

CHAPTER XXII.

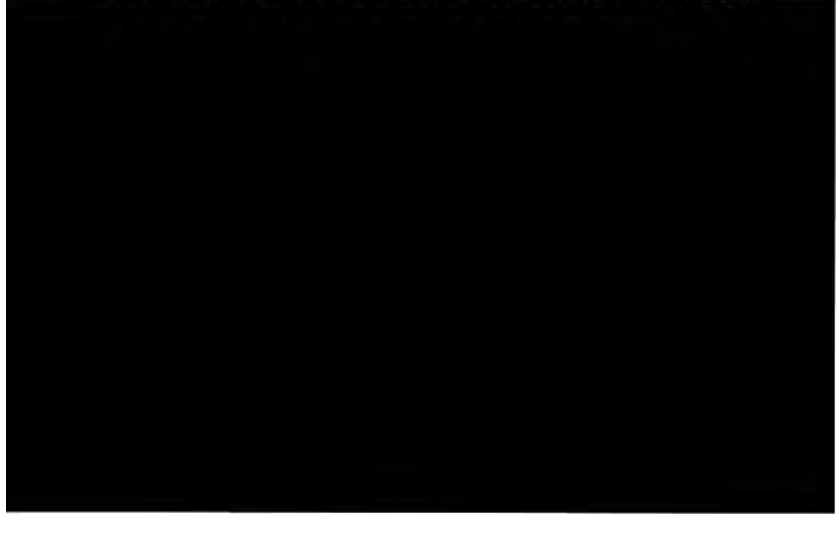
EPIRUS, LEUCAS, ITHACA, CEPHALLENIA.

Departure from Corfú—Capes *Leucimæ*, *Amphipagus*—Islands *Sybota*—Arpítza, *Chimerium*—Parga, *Toryne*—Ai Iánni, *Buchætium*—Porto Fanári, *Glycys Limen*, or *Elæa*—Elía—Riniássa—Agriapidhiá—Amaxíkhi in Lefkádha—Kaligóni, *Leucas*—*Dioryctus*—Meganisí—Kálamo—Gulf of Molo in *Ithaca*—Mount *Neritum*—Skhino, Dhexiá, Vathý—*Echinades*—Aetó—Anoí—Oxoí—Polis—Mount *Neium*, *Rheithrum*—*Alcomenæ*—*Ægilips*—*Crocyleia*—*Dulichium*—*Oxeiæ* or *Thoæ*—Frikes—Kióni—Port Lía—Fountain *Arethusa* and rock *Corax*—Samo in Kefalonía, *Same*—*Siege of Same by Fulvius*—Puláta—Farakláta—Argostóli—Kraniá, *Cranii*—Lixúri, *Pale*—Population and productions of Kefalonía—*Proni*, *Assus*, *Atella*, *Taphus*, *Heraclia*, *Erissus*, *Panormus*.

Corfu, 9th September, 1806.—Having engaged a vessel to carry me through the *Ægæan* to Mount *Athos*, we set sail this evening from the

port of Kastrádhes, *Italicè* Castrai. The vessel is of 55 tons, and one of those called by the Venetians Manzera, carrying square or latine sails, according to the state of the weather. The captain refused to put to sea on a Tuesday until the sun was down, that day being considered unlucky by all classes of Greeks: nor would he consent to sail in the day-time, as he feared the effects of the *μαγίασμα*, or *cattivo occhio*, of those who may envy him for the beauty of his vessel.

Sept. 10.—From the low sandy point of Léfkimo in Corfú, the ancient Leucimne, or Leucimme, to Cavo Bianco, probably the Amphipagus of Ptolemy, the coast of Corfú has a N. and S. direction for 6 or 7 miles, nearly parallel to that of Epirus, and thus forms the southern entrance of the channel of Corfú: the breadth is five miles, but is narrowed to four between Cape Bianco and the islands which preserve their ancient name Sybota, by extensive shallows adjoining the former Cape. Similar shoals encircle Cape Léfkimo, but as they stretch chiefly to the northward, and the channel is here wider, they are not so inconvenient to navi-



dides calls "the continental Sybota[1]," and where, after the second naval action between the Corcyræi and Corinthians, in the year before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, the Corinthians erected a trophy, while the Corcyræi, who equally claimed the victory, set up their trophy "at the insular Sybota[2]:" whence it would seem that there were villages of that name on either side of the inner strait or harbour. Midway between the outer Sývota and Parga is Cape Varlám, commonly called Formajo by the seamen of Italy and the Seven Islands. Immediately north of it, is a retirement of the coast with a sandy beach, above which are cultivated slopes round some dispersed hamlets, all known by the name of Arpítza. Near the shore are the remains of a Hellenic fortification now called Erimókastro.

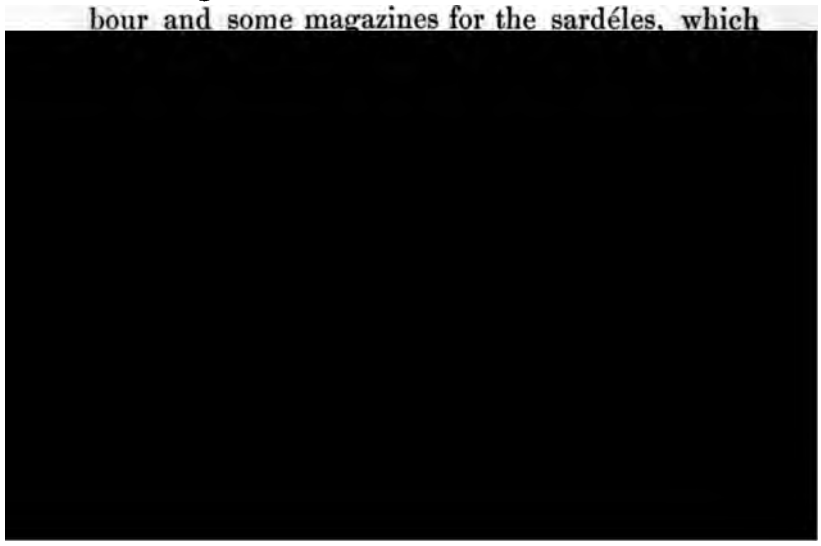
Parga, and the heights behind it, covered with olive groves and gardens, have a very pleasing appearance from the sea. The town is situated on the steep side of a conical rock, which divides a small recess of the coast into two bays, both exposed to the Garbino, and consequently dangerous in winter, except for small boats, which may shelter close under the town, or behind some rocks on the southern side of the southern port. The ridge which connects the promontory with the neighbouring mountain and separates the two ports, is covered with a street of houses, and there is another on the beach of the southern port. On the rock

[1] τροπαῖον ἔστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Συβότοις.—Thucyd. l. 1, c. 54.

[2] ἀντέστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Συβότοις.

stands a fortress, in which resides the Bey sent from Constantinople to receive the tribute; the place being governed in the same manner as Prévyza [1].

About six miles to the south-eastward of Parga is the entrance of Splantza, or the harbour of Fanári, the ancient Glycys Limen, into which the *Acheron* discharges itself. The intermediate coast has a direction first due east, and then south; exactly in the angle is Ai Iánni, or St. John, which is the best harbour in this part of the coast. Porto Fanári is small and shallow, and therefore frequented only by small vessels, which load the corn and kalambókki of the plain of Fanári. The port is easily known by an interval of low coast between steep hills, and by a remarkable precipice on one side of the entrance. As at *Buthrotum* the water of this bay is rendered almost sweet by the great river which is discharged into it; whence the ancient name Glycys Limen. Suli is a conspicuous object rising behind this part of the coast; on the heights a little to the southward of Porto Fanári is the village of Klaréntza, and below it a small harbour and some magazines for the sardéles, which



at Klaréntza. The most conspicuous object is the castle of Riniássa[1], situated at the foot of a maritime ridge, which is separated by some elevated valleys from the range extending from Zálongo towards Suli. Two miles to the north of it is a small harbour named Elía.

Some difficulty occurs in adjusting the ancient names on the coast between the channel of *Corcyra* and *Nicopolis*. Arpítza I believe to be the place named *Chimerium*, where the Corinthians stationed their fleet, and established a camp on returning to the Epirote coast in the summer following their defeat by the Corcyræi near Paxi[2], at the same time that they formed another camp at Actium for the protection of Leucas and their other allies in that quarter. The station of the Corcyræi was at Leucimne[3]; and in those positions the hostile forces remained the whole summer without coming to action. Previously to the second battle between the same two parties, which occurred three years after the first, *Chimerium* was again the station of the Corinthian fleet, while that of the Corcyræi was at Sybota. On this occasion, Thucydides describes Chimerium as a cape and harbour on the Epirote coast, between the rivers

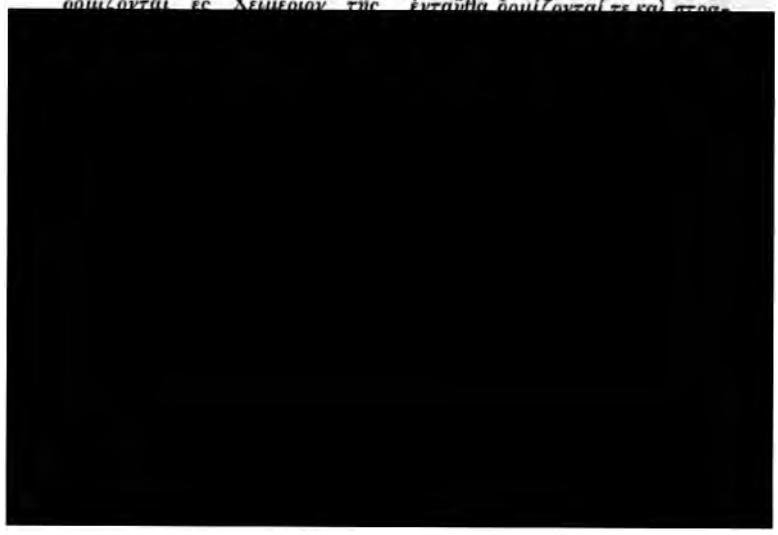
[1] Ῥηνιάσσα.

[2] In the year B.C. 435, Thucyd. l. 1, c. 29, et seq. The historian does not exactly state where this battle took place, but the Corinthians who were in their route to Epidamnus had met the herald of the Corcyræi off Actium, and the latter, after the battle, planted their trophy on Cape Leucimme or Leucimne. The action, therefore, occurred probably between Paxú and Cape Varlám.

[3] ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐπὶ Ἀκτίῳ καὶ περὶ τὸ Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος . . . . . ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ.—Thucyd. l. 1, c. 30.

Acheron and Thyamis[1]. We find, accordingly, that Cape Varlám is about midway between the mouths of those two rivers, and that the bay of Arpítza, being exactly opposite to Cape Bianco, was peculiarly well placed to observe the entrance of the channel of Corfú, and to prevent an enemy stationed at Léfkimo from sailing out of it unobserved. The historian does not, indeed, refer to Chimerium as a fortress, but seems to describe it as a harbour dependent upon Ephyre. But I have frequently had occasion to observe, that places noticed only in history as mountains, harbours, or promontories, are proved by existing ruins to have been also fortresses: and in the present instance, the words of Pausanias and Stephanus afford some presumption that Chimerium was more than a mere cape or harbour[2]. If the remark of Pausanias were verified, who states that fresh water, similar to that of the Deine on the coast of Argolis[3], rose in the sea near Chimerium,

[1] ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πλέοντες, μὲν οὖν Κορίνθιοι τῆς ἠπείρου
ὁρμίζονται ἐς Χειμέριον τῆς ἐνταῦθα ὁρμίζονταί τε καὶ στρα-



there would remain no doubt on the subject. As to the mention of Ephyre by Thucydides in connection with Chimerium, it can only be reconciled with the situation which I have attributed to the latter, by supposing Thucydides to have employed the word ὑπὲρ in its widest sense, and merely for the purpose of introducing a notice of the rivers Acheron and Thyamis, and of the position of Chimerium between them, for the historian himself, compared with Strabo, leaves no doubt that Ephyre, afterwards named Cichyrus, stood not far above the discharge of the Acherusia and Acheron into the *Glycys Limen*[1], which is twelve or fourteen miles distant from Cape Varlám. But it is obvious that no cape near Port Fanári, nor any other position, such as Parga if we might suppose that place to have been the ancient Chimerium, can be so well adapted to the circumstances related by Thucydides as the harbour of Arpítza and Cape Varlám.

[1] Εἰσὶ δὲ νησίδες τὰ Σύβοτα, τῆς μὲν Ἠπείρου μικρὸν ἀπέχουσαι, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἑῷον ἄκρον τῆς Κορκυραίας, τὴν Λευκίμνην, κείμεναι. Καὶ ἄλλαι δ' ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ νησίδες εἰσὶν οὐκ ἄξιαι μνήμης. Ἔπειτα ἄκρα Χειμέριον καὶ Γλυκὺς λιμὴν εἰς ὃν ἐμβάλλει ὁ Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς, ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἀχερουσίας λίμνης, καὶ δεχόμενος πλείους ποταμοὺς ὥστε καὶ γλυκαίνειν τὸν κόλπον· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Θύαμις πλησίον. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτου μὲν τοῦ κόλπου Κίχυρος ἡ πρότερον Ἔφυρα, πόλις Θεσπρωτῶν· τοῦ δὲ κατὰ Βουθρωτὸν ἡ Φοινίκη. Ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς Κιχύρου πολίχνιον Βουχαίτιον Κασσωπαίων, μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ὄν.—Strabo, p. 324. It is easy to perceive that Strabo has borrowed his information, in this passage, from others; in placing the Thyamis near the Glycys Limen, he follows probably the negligent expression of Thucydides.

Parga, I am inclined to believe, was the ancient Toryne, which Octavianus, coming from the Ionian sea, occupied with his fleet, and from whence he proceeded to offer battle to Antonius at the entrance of the strait of Actium. Ptolemy, indeed, may be thought to leave some doubt whether *Toryne*, or *Torone* as he writes it, was at Parga, or at Port St. John, as he names only the following places, and in this order: "the mouth of the Thyamis, Sybota, Torone, the mouth of the Acheron, Port Elæa, Nicopolis;" whence it may be said that St. John being a safer and more capacious harbour than that of Parga, will correspond better to *Toryne*. St. John lies however in an angle of the coast, not very easily entered or quitted by a fleet, and was not so convenient for the purpose of Octavianus as Parga. It was more probably the harbour of *Buchætium* [1], a town described by Strabo as situated at a small distance from the sea, and not far from Cichyrus or Ephyre, the remains of which city still exist at a ruined monastery on the right bank of the Vuvó or *Cocytus*, at an equal distance from Porto Fanári and from the harbour of St. John, and

Klaréntza and Riniássa, seems to show that the *Elæa*, which Ptolemy places on this coast, between the mouth of the Acheron and Nicopolis, was there situated. On the other hand, Thucydides, by describing the Eleatis as the district where the Acherusia discharged itself into the sea, affords strong reason for believing that the reading of Scylax is correct, which represents the port Glycys to have been also called Elea [1], and that as no Thesprotian city of this name is noticed by any ancient author, the harbour was named Elea, and the surrounding district Eleatis, from the marshy nature of the neighbouring country, which, as it affects even the water of the harbour, was the more likely to attach that name to it. It may not have been until long after the time of Thucydides and Scylax, that for Elea was substituted the still more descriptive Glycys Limen, as the name of the harbour. It must be confessed, however, that the modern name, Elía, together with the words of Ptolemy, which represent the mouth of the Acheron and the harbour of Elæa as distinct places, are adverse to this conclusion, and that the question is rather doubtful.

The maestrale, which at this season seldom sets in till the afternoon, falls about sunset, and we are

[1] Μετὰ δὲ Χαονίαν Θεσπρωτοί εἰσιν ἔθνος . . . . ἔστι δὲ αὐτὴ εὐλίμενος· ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ λιμὴν ᾧ ὄνομα Ἔλεδ (Ἐλεία)· εἰς τοῦτον τὸν λιμένα ποταμὸς ἐξίησιν Ἀχέρων καὶ λίμνη Ἀχερουσία, ἐξ ἧς ὁ Ἀχέρων ῥεῖ ποταμός.—Scylax in Θεσπρωτοί.

becalmed till midnight, when begins the usual gulf wind from Prévyza, which carries us to the northern promontory of Lefkádha at nine in the forenoon of Sept. 11.—From this precipitous cape the coast runs south-westward as far as Cape Dukáto, consisting, without intermission, of the same description of bold cliffs, of which the celebrated *Leucate* forms the still more remarkable termination. At the northern cape the coast makes a sudden curve to the eastward, and a sandy beach begins, from which, midway towards Amaxíkhi, branches the low promontory of Plaka. This spit of sand makes an angle to the north-west, and then retires in the opposite direction until at a short distance from the coast of Xerómero it assumes a direction parallel to that shore, forming the northern entrance of the lagoons, which separate the island of *Leucas* from *Acarnania*. The fortress of Aghía Mavra stands exactly at the reentering angle of the promontory, where the strait is narrowest, and covers the whole breadth of the Plaka. It is now occupied by a Russian garrison of 500 men. We land at the foot of the walls, and

The modern capital of Leucas, named Amaxíkhi[1], resembles Mesolónghi, as well by its situation on the lagoon as in the form of the houses, which are very unlike those of Corfú, being built chiefly of wood on a substruction of stone or brick, with galleries supported by wooden pillars. The greater part of them are of one story only, which, as well as the wooden construction, is said to have been adopted in consequence of the frequency of earthquakes. Some of the larger houses are fitted up with tapestry in the Venetian taste. The town is

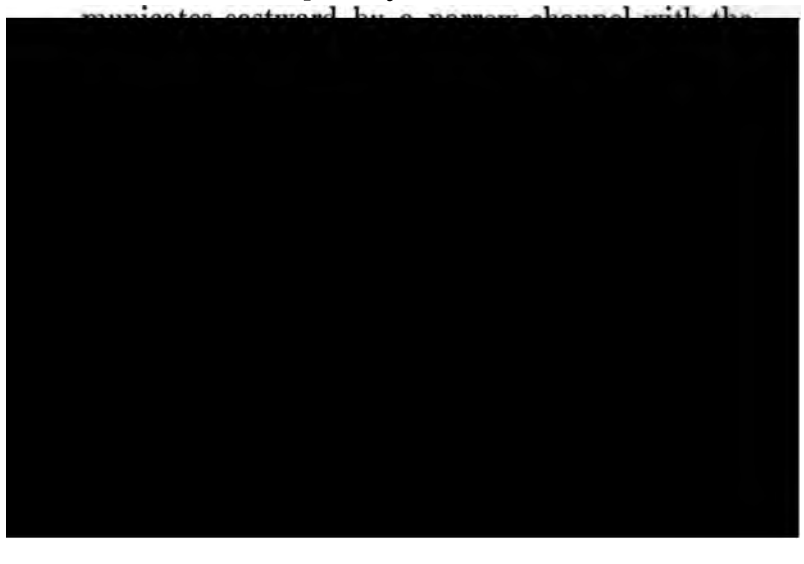
[1] Ἀμαξίχιον.

composed of a single street, from which branch some narrow lanes of small wooden tenements. At the northern termination of the street, near the head of the aqueduct, is a small square called the Piazza di San Marco; from the other end branch two roads which are practicable for carriages for two or three miles, and then become mere horse-paths. Amaxíkhi may perhaps have taken its name from being the only place in the island where ἁμάξια, or wheel carriages, are or can be used. The women are generally handsome, as at Mesolónghi, and in some other situations in Greece which have every appearance of being unhealthy; but many of the men have a sickly complexion. I am lodged in the house of Mr. K. G., Austrian and British vice-consul, whose profits having been sadly diminished since the occupation of the Venetian states by the French, his habitation is proportionally humble. In the afternoon Count Angelo Orio, to whom I had a letter of introduction, presents me to the Prytano, after which we walk out to one of the count's gardens, which is spacious and in good order. Count Orio is a Venetian, who in

but being persecuted by General Chabot on suspicion of being in intelligence with the Turks and Russians, was obliged to take refuge in the mountains. On Chabot's departure he returned to town, and claims the credit of having prevented Alý Pashá from entering the island when the Pashá, encamping with his Albanians on the shore opposite to the fortress, flattered himself that he should obtain this favourite object in the name of the Porte, and be able to hold it for himself. And he might have succeeded, if he had had a few boats to transport his Albanians. Orio endeavoured to gain time by negotiation with the Bishop of Arta and the Pashá, while the islanders, taking up a position to the southward, declared their determination to resist the Albanians. But the only real impediment was the fire of the French from the fortress upon the shallow channel, which the Albanians would otherwise have crossed on foot. After a delay of fifteen days in the siege of Cerigo, Admiral Uschakoff arrived, but the French held out twenty days longer in the castle, the Russian batteries being either too distant, or directed against the strongest parts of the work.

Sept. 12.—Cross the lagoon in company with Count Orio to the fortress, in a small flat-bottomed boat which is punted, and sails back without any danger under the lee of the aqueduct, though there is a strong south-wester without. The aqueduct is so narrow, that when the wind is very strong it sometimes happens that careless or drunken men fall, or are blown over into the water and smothered in the mud. The Russians in garrison, who have

just received a year's arrear of pay and clothing, are commanded by a rough Russian colonel, who has learnt a few words of Italian at Naples and in these islands, and says that he should prefer the most miserable village in Russia to his present solitary and disagreeable station. Formerly the fortress was the seat of government, and there were houses in it for the proveditori ordinario and straordinario. The profile is low, and the wall is very weak, especially towards the lagoon. But it is well placed for protecting the strait just where it is easily forded from the opposite heights in Xerómero, called Lámia, on the extremity of which is a Tekiéh of Dervises. The shallow channel extends two or three miles to the north of the fort, separated only from the open sea by a continuation of the Plaka, which terminates at the southern side of the entrance of port Dhémata, or St. Nicolas. This harbour, being the only one between Viskárdho and Prévyza, is of some importance, though the depth of water is sufficient for ships only at the entrance; it com-



a narrow plain between the heights and the lagoon. The hills are almost entirely covered with vineyards; the plain is occupied by gardens. Towards the northern side of the heights are a few houses called Zervátes, and a church of 'Aio Vlasi. At two-thirds of the distance from Amaxíkhi to the ancient site, a fountain called Megáli Vrýsis flows copiously from the rocky foot of a hill, on the summit of which stands a casino which, as well as Kaligóni and the neighbouring plain, belongs to the Count. Water is conveyed from the Vrýsis, in a subterraneous conduit, to Amaxíkhi, where it supplies the town from various fountains constructed in the Turkish style. The conduit was originally a work of the Turks; but the Venetians, when a repair was required, not having been able to trace the direction of the old aqueduct, were obliged to construct the whole anew. That the same accident may not happen again, they have marked the direction by little heaps of earth, which show the extraordinary circuit taken by the conduit in preserving the proper level. A hollow between Megáli Vrýsis and the Paleókastro, which is now covered with vineyards, was a part of the cemetery of *Leucas*, as appears from the numerous bones, vases, and other sepulchral remains which have been found there. The ancient inclosure is almost entirely traceable as well round the brow of the height on the northern, western and southern sides, as from either end of the heights across the plain to the lagoon, and along its shore. This illustrates Livy, who remarks that the lower parts of Leucas were on a level close to the

shore[1]. The walls on the heights are, for the most part, of polygonal masonry, and apparently of a remote period. In the plain the masonry is more regular, some remains of towers are seen, and it seems evident that this part of the fortification is of a much later date than the original inclosure on the hills. The latter is probably a part of the Nericus mentioned in the Odyssey, which Laertes boasts to have taken, and which, even in the Peloponnesian war, had not yet assumed the name of Leucas[2]. This change, and the extension of the walls to the lagoon, occurred probably between that war, when Leucas was opposed to the Acarnanes, and the time when it became the chief city of Acarnania and the seat of the national council[3]. The western, or most inland point of the hill of *Leucas*, is of a peaked form, and was crowned by a large round tower, of which the foundations are extant. Northward of this, on a tabular summit of equal height, are the remains of a small fortress or Acropolis: on the lower slope of the hill are the ruins of several terrace walls; and there are some foundations also in the plain. Some cisterns were

them. Close to the remains of the walls to the southward there is another fine fountain, fitted up in the Turkish manner, called σπασμένη βρύσις, or the shattered fountain, and lying near it a small sepulchral stone, inscribed with the name Δάμω*, the last letter doubtful. In an adjoining vineyard I observed a plain sarcophagus, and among other remains of the southern cemetery of the city a tomb made of slabs of stone set upright, in the most simple style, and which had been excavated. Count Orio found not long ago, in this vineyard, a sepulchral stone with a woman's name. Immediately below the vineyards of Kaligóni are some extensive salt pans of the same name, which extend southward to a small round fortress in ruins called Fortí, and to the southern harbour of Amaxíkhi, named Drépano.

Opposite to the middle of the ancient city some remains of a Hellenic mole are visible, evidently appertaining to a causeway and bridge which here crossed the lagoon. The bridge was rendered necessary by a channel, which pervades the whole length of the lagoon, and admits a passage to boats drawing five or six feet of water, while the other parts of the lagoon are not more than two feet in depth. The great squared blocks which formed the ancient causeway are still seen above the shallow water in several places on either side of the deep channel, but particularly towards the *Acarnanian* shore; on which side, a little to the southward of the causeway, on a small rocky height, are remains of habitations, and of a castle of the middle ages. The bridge seems to have been kept in repair at

a late period of time, there being a solid cubical fabric of masonry of more modern workmanship erected on the causeway on the western bank of the channel.

The earliest appellation of Leucas was Acte, or the "peninsula," a name applied to some other great maritime projections of the continent of Greece, as Argolis, Attica, and Athos. To that of Leucas the word Ἠπείρου was added as a distinction, and Ἀκτὴ Ἠπείροιο seems to have been its common designation in the time of Homer; it was indeed very naturally so named by the neighbouring islanders, as Epirus or "the continent" was the word then applied to the whole of Acarnania as well as to Epirus proper. According to Scylax, the people of the town were called Epileucadii, so that it would seem that the name Leucas, derived from the cliffs of the western coast, had at an early period been adopted by the people. The Acarnanes of Leucas being in a state of insurrection called in a thousand colonists from Corinth, who slew the Acarnanes, occupied the country, and cutting through the isthmus made it an island [1].

dency to close the entrance of the deep channel which pervades the lagoon, and the navigation of which was probably the object of the Corinthians. If by this operation they rendered Leucas an island, we are to suppose that the part of the lagoon between the Plaka and Lámia, which now insulates *Leucas*, did not anciently exist. But I am more disposed to believe, notwithstanding the Ἀκτὴ of Homer, and other ancient testimonies, that Leucas was never more of a peninsula nor less of an island than it is at present; that is to say, that it has always been separated by a narrow fordable channel, and that the changes which appear from history to have occurred were all caused by the natural obstruction and artificial clearing of the entrance of the deep channel.

The dioryctus formed by the Corinthian colony in the seventh century, B.C., had become unserviceable before the Peloponnesian war, as appears by the Peloponnesian fleet having on more than one occasion been dragged across the isthmus, though Leucas was entirely in their interest[1]. It was in the same state in the reign of Philip, son of Demetrius, for Polybius relates, that when Philip surprised Thermus, in the year B. C. 218, and was hastening with his fleet from Cephallenia by Leucas to the Ambracic Gulf, he caused his ships to be conveyed across the isthmus[2], and Livy in describing the

[1] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 81; l. 4, c. 8.

[2] *εὐτρεπισάμενος τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόρυκτον, καὶ ταύτῃ διακομίσας τὰς ναῦς.*—Polyb. l. 5, c. 5. The isthmus seems to have been still called the Dioryctus, although the canal was obstructed.

siege of Leucas by L. Quinctius, 21 years afterwards, uses the words, "Leucadia nunc insula et vadoso freto quod perfossum manu est ab Acarnaniâ divisa, tum peninsula erat[1];" the restoration of the dioryctus was perhaps a work of the Romans, after the Macedonian conquest, when one of their first acts was to separate Leucas from the Acarnanian confederacy. Both bridge and canal appear from Strabo to have existed in the reign of Augustus, whose policy it was to facilitate communication by sea and land, by these means securing the power of Rome, maintaining peace, and extending the commercial intercourse of the subject nations.

It is curious that Livy, though he has probably borrowed, as usual, the part of his narrative just referred to from Polybius, has represented the town of Leucas as situated on the isthmus, where it was 500 paces long and 120 broad. Perhaps in improving the expression he lost some of the truth of his author, as he has done in some other instances. From a similar inaccuracy we may suspect that Strabo never visited Leucas in person, like many other places which he has incorrectly described, for he represents the isthmus, the dioryctus, the bridge, and Leucas to have been all in the same place, and Nericus in a different situation[2], whereas from what I have

[1] Liv. l. 33, c. 17.

[2] Κορίνθιοι δὲ . . . . . τῆς χερρονήσου διορύξαντες τὸν ἰσθμὸν, ἐποίησαν νῆσον τὴν Λευκάδα καὶ μετενέγκαντες τὴν Νήρικον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὃς ἦν ποτε μὲν ἰσθμὸς νῦν δε πορθμὸς γεφύρᾳ ζευκτὸς, μετωνόμασαν Λευκάδα.—Strabo, p. 452.

already stated, it is evident that Nericus, Leucas, and the bridge, were in one position, and the isthmus and dioryctus at a distance of three miles to the north of them.

The insecurity which the city of Leucas felt from being placed on a peninsula, or what was nearly the same thing in a military sense, an island to which there was a fordable access from the continent, is strongly proved by the traces of a Hellenic wall, commencing near Amaxíkhi, and terminating at the bluff cape which rises from the western extremity of the sandy beach. This wall intercepted the communication between the ancient city and the isthmus, or promontory of Plaka, and may have been useful also against a landing in the bay of Amaxíkhi. It was probably built before the union of Leucas with Acarnania. Count Orio affirms that just before the fall of Venice, every thing was in readiness to renew the ancient canal, which would be extremely useful to the island, as well as to the whole coast of Acarnania and Epirus, by enabling small vessels to avoid the circuit of Cape Dukáto[1].

Sept. 13.—This being the first of the month (Greek style) is the day of meeting of the Syncliti to choose the members of the legislative body, of whom this island sends four, Corfú ten, Zante ten, Cefalonia ten, Ithaca two, Paxú two, Cerigo two.

[1] The canal has been restored since *Leucas* has been under English protection: it enters the lagoon on the western side of Fort Santa Maura, and joins the deep channel near Amaxíkhi.

The Assembly meets in the church of St. Minas on the out-skirts of the town, with a Russian guard at the door. The Prýtano, S. V... of Corfú, opens the assembly with a long speech in Greek, pointing out the importance of the business on which they are met, and supporting his arguments by examples from ancient history. He has the character of being one of the most learned men in these islands, and the speech is much commended, though I hear one of the country nobles whispering to another, καλὰ λόγια, 'fine words without meaning.' In fact, not one of those present is ignorant that the meeting is all a farce, and that the legislators have been named a fortnight ago by N. the emissary of the Russian plenipotentiary. But this does not prevent the ceremony of a ballot for 26 names, out of which a selection of four is to be made by the Senate. Two days are allowed for the ballot, when the boxes, sealed by the prýtano, are sent to Corfú to be opened before the Senate. It is a common joke to call the Syncliti, Synklépti. Lefkádha produces corn enough for its own consumption, and some oil for exportation; a great quantity of salt, and wine sufficient not only for home consumption, but for exportation in considerable quantities to Corfú, Prévyza, and other places. Besides the salt-works of Kaligóni, there are some smaller near the town. The salt-chambers are separated from one another by other chambers in which no salt is made; the stagnant water in these and in the ditches causes malaria. The salt is piled up in large pyramids, and covered with a roof of tiles. At Corfú it is formed

into little hillocks. The manufacture there is not so good as it is here, nor the salt so much esteemed.

On the *Acarnanian* mountain, which lies opposite to the anchorage of Fortí, and which extends to the bay of Zavérdha, is the scattered village of Plaiá [1], and on the slope of Lámia the monastery and small village of Aghía Varvára. There is considerable confusion in common discourse as to the name of Santa Maura, which is given occasionally to the island, the town, or the fortress, but properly Ἁγία Μαῦρα, is the fortress, having received that name from a small church which stood on the site, Ἀμαξίχι is the town and Λευκάδα the island.

Sept. 14.—The manzera having made the tour of the island by Kavo Dukáto, I pass through the channel of the Lagoons in a small flat-bottomed boat, and rejoin the vessel a little below Fortí. Sailing out of the harbour of Drépano, we leave the fountain of the Pashá [2], on the right hand, and then pass the port of Kliminó, which is sheltered by four or five islands lying before it. The two principal, called Spartí and Skropéo, produce good corn. Madúri, situated exactly in the entrance of Kliminó, is covered with olives, and belongs to Kyr Nikóla Vrettó of *Ithaca*. The harbour communicates by a narrow opening with a long interior bay. Kliminó I take to be a corruption of the Ellomenus of Thucydides [3].

[1] Πλαγιὰς. [2] Βρύσις τοῦ Πασιά.

[3] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 94.

Leaving Meganisí on the right, we run along the coast of *Acarnania*, which rises to a lofty mountain named Kandíli, containing a village of the same name; but the wind coming to the south we are unable to weather the outer cape of Kálamo called Kefalí, and stand close in to the shore towards the northern extremity of the island, where is the village Piskopí, and below it a small harbour. Opposite to the northern extremity of Kálamo, is a large bay, bordered by an extensive plain, in which are the ruins of the village Varnáka, and some Hellenic remains, probably those of *Alyzia*. The bay is divided into two by a low projection named Mýtika. The eastern anchorage is called Vurko, and from some magazines of that name there is a road of an hour across a fertile valley and steep ascent to Závitza, a large village on the mountain at the head of the valley. Mount Kandíli is separated by a remarkable pass from Mount Búmisto, which is the highest summit in this part of *Acarnania*, and is nearly opposite to Kálamo. Southward of Búmisto a long ridge borders the coast, which ends in the promontory on the western side of the entrance of the harbour of Tragamésti.

Sept. 15.—Never having seen a tolerable map of Ithaca, I was most agreeably surprised in entering the noble Gulf of Molo this morning at daybreak[1]. To the right rises with extreme steepness the great mountain of Anoí, which, being the

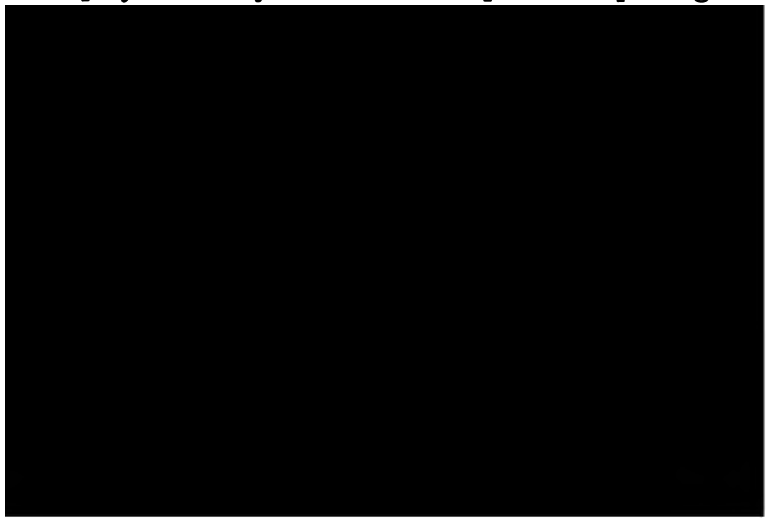
[1] See a Map of Ithaca at the end of this volume.

highest and greatest in the island, we can have no difficulty in identifying with the *Neritum* of the poet. To the left are three harbours; the outer is a semicircular port called Skhíno, perhaps an ancient name, then Vathý two miles in length, and widening to the breadth of half a mile towards the bottom; then Dhexiá, resembling Skhino, but smaller, and so called probably as being to the right in entering the principal harbour Vathý. An island before it is named Kátzurbo. Beyond Dhexiá the gulf extends two miles to the S.W., and terminates in the port of Aetó, separated only from the channel of Kefalonía by a narrow ridge which thus divides the island into two peninsulas. The town of Vathý occupies a long narrow space on the shore at the head of the bay of the same name. Before it is an island named Pandokrátora, on which stands a lazaretto. I am lodged in the house of Mr. Constantine Zavó, English vice-consul, whose father held the same office for 50 years. The Prýtano is of a Venetian family settled at Kefalonía. He has lately excited considerable discontent by disarming the Ithacans, and taking away from them even the small knives which they wore in their girdles.

In a decree of the senate of Venice, dated in the year 1504, of which a copy still exists at Vathý, lands are offered *gratis*, and an exemption from all imposts for ten years in the *uninhabited* island lying on the eastern side of Cefalonia called Val di Compare, or Val di Compagno; in conse-

quence of this decree the island was occupied, and 25 years afterwards was governed by a Venetian styled Il Capitano. In this instance, as in many others, the Greeks, however much behind the Italians they may be in civilization generally, show that they were not so ignorant of the ancient geography of Greece, for they have never ceased to apply to this island its ancient name, altered merely by a simple metathesis of the two first letters, Θιάκη for Ἰθάκη, while the latter is well known by the better classes to be the correct orthography. The gentile Ἰθακήσιος, employed by Homer, is in use, as well as Ἰθακὸς, which is found in Euripides[1], and on the coins of the island; the corresponding Θιακὸς is now the vulgar gentile. From Θιάκη has been formed the Italian Teachi or Teaci. Every peasant is acquainted with the name of Odhysséfs, though few know much of his story, and probably not six persons in the island have ever read Homer.

Thiáki has a population of 8000 souls, of whom about 1200 are absentees, either as merchants employed chiefly at Constantinople in importing



Ithacans, and about as many boats, which carry on a traffic with the neighbouring islands and shores of the continent. About 20 of the ships have been built in the island.

The exports of Thiáki are 250,000 lire Venete of currants, now valued at 25,000 piastres, 6,000 barrels of wine at 60,000 piastres, and 1,500 barrels of oil every other year, valued at 30,000 piastres. The island produces also a sufficiency of oil and wine for its own consumption, 20,000 kila of wheat and barley, and a small quantity of cheese. The grain is hardly sufficient for half the year's consumption, and the yearly expenditure on this head is reckoned at 125,000 piastres. There is some importation also of salt fish, and cattle for slaughter. The currants of the island were sent formerly to England by the Zante merchants, and were the most esteemed of any, but they are now chiefly bought by the Sclavonians and Moreites. The wine is sent to Corfú and the continent; the oil to Trieste and Venice; the cheese to Zante. The daily price of labour is, on ordinary occasions, 80 paras a day without provision, which is higher than in most of the other islands, agricultural hands being scarce. The valley around Vathý is well cultivated with corn, and scarcely a spot on the heights, that will admit of a vineyard, has been neglected. The remainder consists of rocky ground covered with brushwood. To the south-west of the town rises the highest mountain in the southern peninsula, and next to the mountain of Anoí the highest point in the island. It is called Stefano-

vúni, or Merovúgli : on its slope are situated the village of Perakhório and the Monastery of the Archangels. On the opposite or western side it slopes abruptly to the channel of Kefalonía. The superiority of Vathý in fertility, and the convenience of its harbour render probable the supposition that here was one of the towns of Ithaca, if not the capital, and the presumption is supported by the numerous wrought stones of Hellenic times, found in the houses and streets of the town, and in the fences around it.

The three principal families of *Ithaca* are the Petaliádhes, the Karaviádhes, and the Dhendhrinádhes; a principal branch of the first has taken the name of Zavó, because one of the ancestors of our present Vice-Consul was an idiot. This family owns the valley at Aetó, the greater part of Anoí, and a part of the land near Vathý, of which the remainder chiefly belongs to the Dhendhrinádhes, particularly to their chief Asimáki Dhrakoleone. The valley of Oxoí, the most productive district in the island, is chiefly the property of the Vrettéi, a

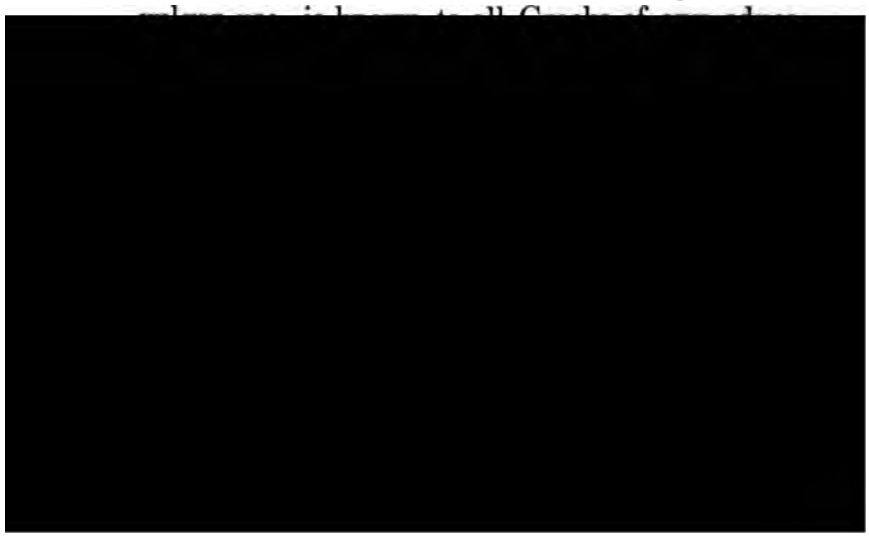
as far as Cape *Chelonatas* in the *Peloponnesus*. Of the islands,—Kálamo, Kastús, 'Atoko, and all the *Echinades*, are dependencies of Thiáki—Meganisí, Arkúdhi, and the small islands near Kliminó, of Lefkádha. As several of them are within gunshot of the Ottoman shore, the Septinsular Republic would have some difficulty in establishing any better right to them than that of undisputed possession for several centuries, unless there was some particular treaty by which they were ceded to the Venetians, unknown to every person of whom I have made the inquiry.

The Protógeros of Kálamo, who happens at present to be at Vathý, informs me that his island contains 100 families, living in the two villages of Mulí and Piskopí, the former situated on the eastern face of the mountain; the latter on the western as before mentioned. The island produces nothing but wheat and barley, both excellent, but particularly the former, which is preferred to any other produced in the Seven Islands. At the northern extremity of the island, over against Kandíles, is the port of Ai Dhonáto, with magazines and a square Castle called Spanish, on the water side, and on the slope above it some imperfect remains of Hellenic masonry. On the summit of the hill which immediately faces the continent, there is also a Hellenic castle or acropolis, built of very large wrought stones. This mountain is very little lower than the central summit of the island, which declines rapidly towards the south-western cape Kefalí, not far from which, on the eastern side, and opposite to Kastús,

is the port of Gheró Limióna open to the east. Kastús, which contains 20 or 30 families, is about half as large as Kálamo. The islands are both long and narrow, and lie in a parallel direction, the channel which separates them is two miles wide in the broadest part. Off the northern extremity of Kastús is Provatáki, an islet covered with wild olives, which have been grafted, but without much success.

Meganisí contains about 200 families in two villages, and produces twice as much corn as Kálamo, the soil being generally cultivable. The Meganisiótes pretend that their wheat is better than that of Kálamo. The island consists of a single ridge, forming a half circle round a large bay on the eastern side, and diminishing in height and breadth from north to south. The latter extremity is a mere rock, off which is a small low island called Khithro, separated from Meganisí by a narrow channel, and appearing at a distance like a part of it.

The *Echinades*, which name, although not in



of the mouth of the *Achelous*, near Oxiá. Seventeen of the islands have names beside the four Módhia, two of which are mere rocks, and nine of them are cultivated. These are beginning from the southward :—Oxiá, Makrí, Vrómona, Pondikónisi, Karlonísi, Prováti, Lambrinó, Sofiá, Dhragonára. Oxiá alone is lofty. Dhragonára produces from 250 to 300 kila of grain *per annum*; and Mr. Zavó, of Ithaca, to whom the island belongs, has grafted many wild olives, which have succeeded to perfection. Makrí and Vrómona are the two islands next in importance. It is said that most of the *Echinades*, as well as the other islands attached to the government of Thiáki, formerly belonged to a large monastery at Kastús.

Ithaca, as the poet justly remarks in the Odyssey, is rugged, has no good roads, and is not well adapted to horses; though small, it is not unproductive, but yields good corn and wine, and feeds goats and oxen[1]. So far its modern

[1] Ἐν δ' Ἰθάκῃ οὔτ' ἄρ' δρόμοι εὐρέες οὔτε τι λειμών·
Αἰγίβοτος καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπήρατος ἱπποβότοιο.
Οὐ γάρ τις νήσων ἱππήλατος οὐδ' εὐλείμων
Αἵ θ' ἁλὶ κεκλίαται· Ἰθάκη δέ τε καὶ περὶ πάσεων.
Od. Δ. v. 605.

Ναιετάω δ' Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον· ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῇ
Νήριτον, εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἀριπρεπές . . .
. . . . . .
Τρηχεῖ' ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος.
Od. I. v. 21.

[T] Ητοι

state resembles that of the time of Homer; but the mountains are no longer shaded with woods, and this may be the reason why the rain and the dew are not so plentiful as the poet represents, and why the island no longer abounds in hogs fattening upon acorns.

Mr. Zavó came in eleven hours in a boat from the port of Kastrádhes, at Corfú, to the town of Vathý. The same voyage by Ulysses, therefore, in the course of a night[1] was not wonderful, with the assistance of Minerva. The port of Phorcys, which was his place of landing, I am inclined to identify with Skhino, for this seems the only point in the island exactly corresponding to the poet's data: 1. In being suited to the intention of those who conveyed Ulysses from Corcyra, namely, that of landing him as quickly as possible, and of quitting the coast before he was awake; 2dly, in admitting of an easy and unobserved walk from the place of landing to the station of Eumæus, at the

[1] Ἦτοι μὲν τρηχεῖα καὶ οὐχ ἱππήλατός ἐστιν,
Οὐδὲ λίην λυπρὴ, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' εἰρεσίη τέτυκται.

ἐσχατίη, or extremity[1] of the island which was nearest to the Peloponnesus[2], the first might, perhaps, have been better obtained by a landing in some port of the northern peninsula, but the second would have been impracticable from thence; 3dly, the situation of Mount Neritum, which rises directly in face of Skhino, is exactly adapted to the speech of the disguised Minerva, when she proves to Ulysses that he is in Ithaca, by pointing to the mountain[3]; 4thly, the road from Skhino to the station of Eumæus was exactly as Homer describes, rugged, and leading through woods and mountains[4].

The island is now divided into four parts, Vathý, Aetós, Anoí, and Exoí or Oxoí[5]. Vathý and Oxoí, the two extremities, have each a fertile valley. In Aetós and Anoí, which occupy the middle part of the island, the rocky mountains admit of little cultivation. Aetós is the only division which has not a homonymous village; the name, vulgarly Aetó[6], is specifically attached to the remains of

[1] Od. Ω. v. 149.

[2] Αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν πρώτην ἀκτὴν Ἰθάκης ἀφίκηαι.
Od. O. v. 36.
Telemachus was sailing from the Peloponnesus.

[3] Φόρκυνος μὲν δῶ' ἐστὶ λιμὴν ἁλίοιο γέροντος·
. . . . . .
Τοῦτο δὲ Νήριτόν ἐστιν ὄρος, καταείμενον ὕλῃ.
Od. N. v. 345.

[4] Αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκ λιμένος προσέβη τρηχεῖαν ἀταρπὸν,
Χῶρον ἀν' ὑλήεντα δι' ἄκριας.
Od. Ξ. v. 1.

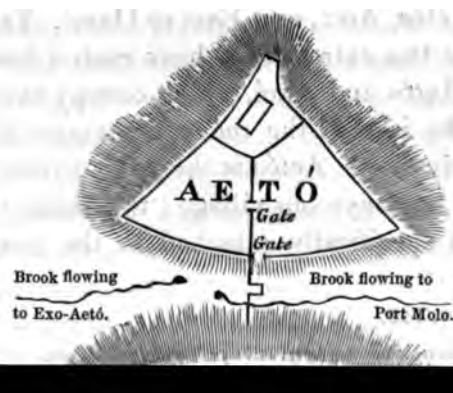
[5] Βαθὺ, Ἀετὸς, Ἄνωη, Ἔξωη or Ὄξωή.

[6] στὸν Ἀετὸν, according to the common mode of naming a place in the third case, when the final ν is generally mute.

a Hellenic fortress situated on the height already alluded to, which rises from the extremity of the Gulf of Molo, and falls on the opposite side to the channel of Kefalonía.

This height is separated from Mount Merovúgli by a hollow cultivated with vineyards. Here on the 16th of September, having sailed from Vathý, I pitched my tent, and remained the whole day examining the ruins, or looking over the topographical passages of the Odyssey, while a party of labourers excavated some ancient sepulchres in the valley. There is a ridge in the middle

Part of the Isthmus of Aetó.



traced the remains of an ancient wall, and of a tower facing towards the harbour of Aetó, or Gulf of Molo. A prolongation of this wall, but without any towers, mounts the steep hill of Aetó on the western side of the hollow, and is connected near the summit with the lower wall of the citadel of an ancient town which occupied the triangular face of this hill, extending downwards to the edge of the hollow, where its lower walls may still be traced; it was thus divided by the wall first-mentioned into two nearly equal parts. Several terrace walls and foundations of buildings are still apparent on the side of the hill, within the ancient inclosure. On the summit, or acropolis, are the remains of an interior keep, or some other building, consisting of two parallel walls, which inclose a long narrow space containing two ancient cisterns constructed in the usual manner.

The wall along the ridge of the hollow appears to have been made for the purpose of interrupting occasionally the communication between the harbours of Aetó and Exo-Aetó, but chiefly, as appears from the facing of the tower, as a defence on the side towards the Gulf of Molo, from whence a landing was most to be feared, as being easier than on the other side. Another intention of this wall may have been that of protecting the only springs of water which the town possessed: one of these is the source of a torrent which flows to the Gulf of Molo; the other is a well lined with large blocks of stone of ancient workmanship, situated a little on the descent towards Exo-Aetó. A little above it, on the rocky side of the height, there is a sepulchral

niche excavated in the rock. The walls of the acropolis on the hill of Aetó are of the polygonal order of masonry, and in some places of a rudeness of construction approaching to the earliest kind. The remains below seem in general to be less ancient.

The peasants who work in the vineyards of Aetó very often find ancient coins: generally near the well and tower. My own excavators, however, produce nothing to-day but some coarse beads, remains of pottery, and a few obliterated coins of Ithaca, of which I had already procured others from the peasants in better preservation. None of these remains appear to be earlier than the Roman empire. One of the coins has the head of Ulysses covered with the pileus; on another is the head of Minerva; and on a third, a cock with the legend Ἰθακῶν at length.

Although the ancient town which stood at Aetó was of small dimensions, not much more than a mile in circumference, the position was of great importance, as not only commanding the intercourse by land between the two peninsulas which

pulchral stones with single names[1]. The modern path, which now forms the only communication by land from the district of Vathý to the northern parts of the island, touches the shore of Port Molo, and a little beyond it, below the northern walls of the Paleókastro, divides into two, that to the right leading to the monastery of Katará and village of Anoí, the more direct crossing the isthmus of Aetó obliquely, and thence proceeding along the heights composing the western coast to Oxoí. It first passes a church of St. John, which is just below Katará, and from thence continues to the village of Lefka, which is situated among terraces of corn, overhanging the steep and abrupt shore midway between Aetó and Oxoí. Between Aetó and Ai Ianni are some vestiges of the ancient road cut in the rock, and the letters ΟΔ are distinguishable on the face of it. The learned of Ithaca suppose these letters to be remains of the name of Ulysses, and to mark the place where he was born by the road side, from which circumstance his name is supposed to have been derived. This accident, however, according to the best authorities, happened to Anticleia not in Ithaca, but in Bœotia, and the letters on the rock are more probably part of the word ὀδός.

Sept. 19.—Sail in a small boat from Vathý for Fríkes, the eastern port of Oxoí, but the wind promising to be a fresh maestrale, land in the gulf of Molo, at the foot of Mount *Neritum*, and proceed on foot to the village of Anoí, by a road deservedly called the Klímaka, or ladder, being excessively steep and rocky; for the greater part of the dis-

[1] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 106, 107.

tance it ascends the bed of a torrent, flowing from the summit of the mountain of Anoí, which remains on our left. The village of Anoí stands on the side of this great summit to the eastward, and overlooks an elevated level, if level it can be called, which consists of a labyrinth of rocks, separated by intervals of fertile soil grown with vines. Some of the rocks are needles of ten or twenty feet in height. From the further side of this *plain* of Anoí, the mountain falls to the sea by a rapid slope, like that by which we mounted. After dining at the village, we descend the mountain on the northern side, by a road which threads its way among the pointed rocks, and enter the territory of Oxoí, which consists of an undulated valley, together with the cultivated slopes of three surrounding mountains, inclosing a triangular space between the three ports of Polis, Frikes, and Afáles[1]. The mountain of Anoí rises on the southern side of the basin; the hill of Oxoí, which has a remarkable double summit, incloses it to the westward, and to the north that of Mármaka, which is rocky and barren, and forms a peninsula at the northern ex-

has a delicate old malmsey, made of currants. These dwarf grapes succeed admirably in *Ithaca*, though the soil does not resemble that white argil of *Achaia* and Zante which is there so favourable to them. Here it is a loose, light mould, equally proper for grain, but much intersected with rocks, and strewn with loose stones. These in some places are so numerous as totally to hide every particle of earth, in which case, though the land is useless for corn, it is not ill adapted to vines, the stones being of service to the plant, by keeping the earth moist in summer. In fact, the vines and currants produced in that kind of soil are as good as any. The wine exported from Ithaca in the greatest quantity, is a strong, dry, red wine. The wheat grown in the district of Oxoí is of excellent quality, some particularly, of which Mr. Vrettó procured the seed from Kálamo, furnishes bread as good as that made from the grain of that island. But the greater part of the bread consumed in *Ithaca* is made from a mixture of wheat and barley, raised from mixed seed. This bread is often recommended by the physicians of the Seven Islands to their dyspeptic patients.

Sept. 20.—Mr. Vrettó conducts me to the antiquities, and other objects which he considers worthy of notice in the district of Oxoí. We first visit at a quarter of a mile to the northward of his house, on the side of the northern summit of the hill of Oxoí, and about half a mile above the sea, a precipice of 25 or 30 feet in perpendicular height, called Kóraka [1], from a little below which flows a

[1] *στὸν Κόρακα.*

fountain of the purest water, very cool and copious, even in this season of uncommon dryness. The same vein of water shows itself in other parts of the hill in smaller sources, and waters some gardens belonging to Mr. Vrettó, which produce among other fruits, excellent lemons and oranges, sufficient not only for the consumption of the island, which possesses no other gardens, but which are even exported to Arta and Ioánnina. Immediately below the gardens is a little bend of the coast, called Perivóli [1], where boats sometimes anchor. Mr. Vrettó's father attempted to establish a mole here for the convenience of himself and the village, but it was carried away by the sea during the first winter. In forming it, he broke down a fine cave in the cliff above, which an old man who was present at the work describes to me as having had two openings. All this of course is intended to support the pretensions of the Oxoítes, to the honour of being the possessors of the rock Corax and fountain Arethusa mentioned by Homer, as well as of the port of Phorcys, on the shore of which was the cave of the Nymphs, with its double entrance [2].

In that case there would indeed have been a walk for Ulysses of three miles to the station of Eumæus, supposing it to have been at the Kóraka of Oxoí; not over rocks and mountains, however, as Homer requires, but across the largest plain in the island. As to the name Kóraka, it is one not uncommonly attached to a precipice, and I am assured that there is a much higher and more remarkable rock, also called Kóraka, near the southern end of the island, and over which there is a cascade. It is said there was formerly a quarter of Oxoí, just above the cliff, named the town of the Korakíni[1]. Nothing indeed appears more likely than that Oxoí should have once stood wholly or principally in that situation, from whence it may have been removed from the fear of pirates ; for the fountain is now at a very inconvenient distance from the village, and gives the women a painful ascent, after filling their hydriæ and water kegs.

Oxoí and the neighbouring heights, command a fine view of the southern side of Lefkádha, from the white cliffs of Kavo Dukáto or *Leucate*, to a remarkable hill above Poro, a village so called as standing in the channel of Meganisí. This channel, which is about a mile in breadth, commences a little south of Poro, and extends about four miles to the north of that village. *Leucate*, upon the extremity of which stood the temple of Apollo Leucatas[2], is a long promontory, consisting entirely of perpendicular cliffs to the westward, and falling

[1] στὴν Κορακήνων τὴν χώραν.

[2] Strabo, p. 452.

Et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.—Virgil. Æn. l. 3, v. 275.

steeply to the eastward, where it shelters from the west a bay named Vasilikó. This bay extends ten miles inland from the Cape, and terminates in a curved beach, where is a river and some Hellenic remains. They mark perhaps the site of Pheræ, a place described by Scylax as being opposite to Ithaca [1]. Between Vasilikó and Poro are the harbours of Sývota and Afteliá.

Having returned to Mr. Vrettó's house, we proceed south-westward half a mile along the slope of the mountain of Oxoí, and arrive at a little insulated cliff, on the summit of which are the remains of a small ancient temple, now converted into a church of St. Athanasius. Its dimensions within are 21 feet 6 inches by 13 feet 6 inches, and attached to it on the eastern side are the foundations of another smaller edifice, 14 feet 6 inches by 12 feet. The larger has a foundation extending beyond the superincumbent courses, of which, where the ground is lowest, there remain two formed of very large regular blocks, above which is a wall of polygonal masonry, a few feet high, and a foot and a half in thickness. The

building are chiefly composed of ancient blocks. Along the crest of the cliff are remains of a terrace wall, almost destroyed by bushes of prinári growing between the stones; some votive niches of the usual form are seen in the face of the cliff, and at its foot are eight or ten steps cut in the rock; the natives remember the existence of many more. On the level ground beneath, are some rocks cut into the form of door-posts, probably the remains of the entrance of the sacred enclosure, and in the vineyards just below several sepulchres have been found, in one of which was the head of a spear, in another vases. Papá Leóndio made me a present of a piece of calcareous stone having an ornament of oak leaves and acorns upon it, which was found in the same place, and probably was a part of the temple. It does not indicate an antiquity higher than that of the Roman empire. Not above 100 yards from this spot to the southward is a fountain called Melánydhro[1]. In consequence of the uncommon drought of the season, it is now reduced to two or three little stagnant pools at the foot of a small cliff, which is about fifteen feet high, and crowned with bushes; in the winter the rivulet which flows from the hollow between the two summits of the mountain of Oxoí falls over the face of the cliff. The name Melánydhro has much the appearance of having been, like Kóraka, a modern invention for the purpose of supporting the claim of the Oxoítes to the honour of possessing the station of *Eumæus*, where

[1] Μελάννδρος.

the μέλαν ὕδωρ assuaged the thirst of the godlike hog-driver's cattle, when satiated with the sweet fruit of the oak. The Papás, however, assert that the name is derived from a black mud of a sulphureous smell, which is said constantly to collect itself here, notwithstanding any pains which may be taken to clear it away. The water is now turbid and ill-tasted, but is said to be very good in other seasons. Two or three hundred yards farther, in the same direction, I find in a corn-field a large wrought stone, precisely similar to one which I saw in the ruins of *Leucas*. It is pierced with two square holes, and seems to have been the architrave of a great door or gate. Just beyond, are the foundations of a large Hellenic wall in the vineyards. The situation is called Σαμικοῦ, apparently an ancient name preserved. A little to the north of this wall a sorus, or coffin, is excavated in the summit of a great insulated rock, and another adjoining rock has two round holes, about nine inches in depth, surmounted by a square excavation of half that depth, in which are four small round holes thus,
The largest is 1 foot 3 inches square :—

where a sepulchral stone is inscribed with the name ΔΑΜΩΣ. On the descent from the middle of this ridge towards the bay of Polis, is another fountain, now almost dry; from thence we ascend to the brow of the extremity of the mountain of Oxoí, where it overhangs the northern side of the harbour. Here is a small acropolis of the same width as that of Aetó, and about half the length. The wall, which on one side exists in part, is of the rudest kind of Greek masonry. The situation commands a view of the western coast of the island as far as Aetó, and of the channel of Kefalonía with the island of Dhaskalió, which lies immediately opposite to the harbour of Polis. Ancient sepulchres are found in several situations adjacent to Polis, particularly to the southward of the beach at the head of the port, and on the slope of Mount *Neritum*, beyond Stavró, where not long since a massive gold ring fitting the human finger was brought to light, which is now in the possession of the Prýtano, and is engraved in intaglio with the figure of a woman holding a staff.

I have been thus particular in noticing the remains of antiquity in this quarter, because they show that one of the towns of Ithaca stood on the shore of Port Polis, and that it flourished during a long succession of, or at least during very different ages; the scattered monuments in the plain being chiefly of the Roman Empire, while some of the defensive works near the harbour are of a remote antiquity, and others of a middle Hellenic date. The name Polis is alone a strong argument that

the town which stood here was that which Scylax, and more expressly Ptolemy, mention as having borne the same name as the island [1]. That Homer also, in the earliest times of history, had in view the position of Polis as that of the capital of Ithaca might be presumed from that passage of the Odyssey where the poet represents the suitors as lying in wait for Telemachus, on his return from the Peloponnesus at Asteris; for he describes Asteris as a small island in the channel between Ithaca and Samus [2], where the only island is Dhaskalió, situated exactly opposite to the entrance of port Polis, at a distance of two miles, and therefore perfectly adapted to the purpose of the suitors if the capital and royal residence were at Polis. Indeed, there is no other harbour, nor any other small island, with which the poet's narrative can be made to accord. It is true that his description of the double port of Asteris does not so well agree with the rock of Dhaskalió, which has no port, and could only have furnished a temporary shelter on the lee side; this, however, may be considered as merely a poetical amplification, and is very dif-

tions of places, a kind of error which can seldom or never be imputed to Homer.

If the *Laertian capital* of *Ithaca* was at Polis, it will follow that the Mount *Neium*, below which it stood [1], was the mountain of Oxoí, and its southern summit the *hill* of *Hermes*, from which *Eumæus* saw the ship of *Telemachus* entering the harbour [2]; it becomes probable, also, that the harbour *Rheithrum*, which was under *Neium*, but not near the city [3], was in the bay of Afáles, towards Perivólio: having derived its name perhaps from the stream which flows from the fountain of Kóraka. Such a position for Rheithrum accords perfectly with the fiction which the poet represents Minerva to have employed when having assumed the form of Mentes, king of the Taphii, she pretended to Telemachus that Mentes was on his passage from Taphus (now Meganisí) with a cargo of iron, to be exchanged for copper at Temese in Calabria, and that he had left his ship at Rheithrum while he came to the city. It is obvious that the bay of Afáles was more in the route from *Taphus* to *Temese* than any other harbour in *Ithaca*.

By Plutarch, Stephanus, and Istrus of Alexan-

[1] Ἡμεῖς ἐξ Ἰθάκης ὑπὸ Νηΐου εἰλήλουθμεν.
Od. Γ. v. 81.

[2] Ἥδη ὑπὲρ πόλιος, ὅθεν Ἑρμαῖος λόφος ἐστίν.
Od. Π. v. 471.

[3] Νηῦς δέ μοι ἥδ' ἔστηκεν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ νόσφι πόληος,
Ἐν λιμένι Ῥείθρῳ ὑπὸ Νηΐῳ ὑλήεντι.
Od. A. v. 185.

Lycophr. v. 768, represents Ulysses as landing at Rheithrum, but in this he differs from Homer.

dria, an author cited by Plutarch, we are informed that the proper name of the capital of Ithaca was Alcomenæ, or Alalcomenæ; that Ulysses bestowed this name upon it from his having been born on the road near Alalcomenæ in Bœotia, and that hence he was sometimes described as Ulysses the Alcomenian[1]. But this name is not found in Homer, and if it ever existed, was probably not so early as the Trojan war, nor lasted so long as the time when Scylax or Ptolemy wrote, but was employed in an intermediate period, beginning from the time, perhaps, when Ulysses was re-established in his kingdom. A passage in Strabo tends to the belief, that *Alcomenæ* was the town at Aetó[2], a place where Ulysses may well be supposed to have fixed his residence, for the sake of the advantages of position already noticed. At Polis I conceive to have stood the city of Ithaca, referred to by Homer, as well as by Scylax, and Ptolemy. We may readily believe that in every

[1] Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. πολίχνιον λέγει ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀλαλ-

age, ἡ πόλις, or the city, was among the Ithacans the most common designation of their chief town.

As natural causes are likely to produce in all ages similar effects, it is probable that the peculiar conformation of Ithaca has always caused it to be divided, as it now is, into four districts; and that those which are now called Vathý, Aetó, Anoí, and Oxoí, are very nearly the same as the four divisions of the island noticed by Heracleon, an author cited by Stephanus[1]. Three of these were named Neium, Crocyleium, and Ægireus, the fourth is lost by a defect in the text. Ægireus was probably the same as the Ægilips of Homer: Strabo, indeed, places Crocyleia and Ægilips in Leucas[2]; but if Neritum was in Ithaca, of which Homer in several passages leaves no room to doubt, there is nothing in the poet which connects Crocyleia and Ægilips with Leucas[3], and the testimony of Heracleon is opposed to Strabo. In another place Stephanus favours the supposition that Crocyleia was the name of the capital of

[1] Κροκύλειον, νῆσος Ἰθάκης· Θουκυδίδης τρίτῃ, τὸ ἐθνικὸν Κροκυλεύς· Ἡρακλέων δὲ ὁ Γλαύκου, τετραμερῆ φησι τὴν Ἰθάκην, ἧς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον Νήϊον, καὶ τὸ τρίτον Κροκύλειον, τὸ τέταρτον Αἰγιρῆα—Stephan. in Κροκύλειον. Stephanus here confuses this Crocylium with another in Ætolia mentioned by Thucydides.

[2] Strabo, p. 376, 453.

[3] Οἱ ῥ' Ἰθάκην εἶχον καὶ Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον,
Καὶ Κροκύλει' ἐνέμοντο, καὶ Αἰγίλιπα τρηχεῖαν.
Il. B. v. 632.

Laertes[1]; but this is obviously inconsistent with the latter having been in the quarter of Neium. On the other hand, Heracleon is adverse to the placing of Crocyleia at Vathý, because he states the unnamed town to have been in the southern part of the island. But where a *bearing* is concerned, little reliance can be placed upon ancient authority, and if Crocyleia was the second town in importance, as the ancient notices of it seem to show, we cannot but believe Vathý to have been its site. The rugged Ægilips can be nowhere so well placed as at Anoí.

But of all the topographical questions arising from the Odyssey, that of the site of Dulichium is the most puzzling, and the same difficulty was felt by the ancient critics. Hellanicus supposed Dulichium to have been the ancient name of the island of Cephallenia: Andron that of one of its cities, which Pherecydes conceived to have been Pale,—an opinion supported by Pausanias[2]. But Strabo insists that Dulichium was one of the Echinades, which were occupied (together with Dulichium) before the Trojan war by some

Troy [1]. The opinion of Strabo, therefore, is in conformity with the poet, and there seems no good reason for doubting that Dulichium was the head of an insular state, which, as well as that of the neighbouring islands of the Teleboæ and Taphii, and like some of the islands of Greece in modern times, may have attained by maritime commerce, not unmixed perhaps with piracy, a degree of populousness and opulence, beyond the proportion of its dimensions and natural resources.

Petalá being the largest of the *Echinades*, and possessing the advantage of two well sheltered harbours, seems to have the best claim to be considered the ancient Dulichium. It is indeed a mere rock, but being separated only by a strait of a few hundred yards from the fertile plains at the mouth of the *Achelous* and river of *Œnia*, its natural deficiencies may have been there supplied, and the epithets of grassy and abounding in wheat, which Homer applies to Dulichium [2], may be referred to that part of its territory. But in fact, there is no proof in the Iliad or Odyssey that *Dulichium*, although at the head of an insular confederacy, was itself an island; it may very possibly, therefore, have been a city on the coast of *Acarnania*, opposite to the *Echinades*, perhaps at Tragamésti, or more probably at the harbour named Pandeléimona, or Platyá, which is separated only by a channel of a

[1] Strabo, pp. 351, 458, 459.

Οἱ δ' ἐκ Δουλιχίοιο, Ἐχινάων θ' ἱεράων
Νήσων, αἳ ναίουσι πέρην ἁλὸς Ἠλιδος ἄντα·
Τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε Μέγης, &c.—Il. B. v. 625.

[2] . . . . . Δουλιχίον πολυπύρου ποιήεντος.—Od. Ι. v. 396.

mile or two from the *Echinades*. The Oxeiæ seem not to have been included in this little state, for Homer in another place alludes to them under the name of Thoæ, a synonym of Oxeiæ [1].

Sept. 21.—In proceeding to the port of Frikes I observe, near a ruined church of the Panaghía, several ancient blocks of stone carved in furrows, as if for a rustic basement. Here are also two inscriptions, one of which is in Latin. Like all those found in the district of Oxoí, they are sepulchral, and of the time of the Roman empire[2]. At Frikes are several magazines, and here the Oxoites principally carry on their maritime trade, though the harbour is exposed to a swell when the wind is strong at east, as well as to dangerous gusts from the narrow gorge which communicates with the valley of Oxoí. It is much safer, however, than the open bays of Polis and Afáles. Ships generally anchor at Mavroná, on the southern side, or at Liméni, to the north, in preference to Frikes itself. At Mavroná there is a convent of St. Nicolas, and behind it vineyards, on the ascent as far up as Anoí. Having embarked in the Mentore, we beat

Gulf of Molo, we pass a small port to the north-east of Skhino, named Ghidháki, having an islet of that name before it, then a bare coast, then Filiatró and Sarakíniko, two little bays at the foot of the ridge which separates this coast from the plain of Vathý, and reach Port Lia in time for me to land and visit the fountain, which by the learned of Vathý is supposed to be the Arethusa of the poet. The spring is in a ravine midway between the shore and a long perpendicular cliff which closes the ravine, at a distance of a mile from the sea. This precipice forms the point of junction between Mount Merovúgli and a range of hills which follow the eastern and southern shore of the island. In seasons of rain a torrent falls in a cascade over the precipice, and from its foot descends rapidly between slopes covered with vines, corn, and fig trees, and leaving the pigádhi or fountain on its left, joins the sea at port Lia. The fountain is a natural and never-failing reservoir in a cavern, before which a wall has been built with a trough for the convenience of watering cattle. There is every reason to believe that this is really the fountain Arethusa intended by Homer, and that the precipice above it is the rock Corax, which the poet had in view in describing the station of the swineherd Eumæus. Such a source of water must always have been valuable and celebrated in this thirsty land; the cliff is sufficiently remarkable to have deserved the poet's notice, and the station of Eumæus, as I before remarked, was evidently at the southern extremity of the island. It would even seem that the poet alluded to this precipice when

he represented Ulysses as confirming the assurances which he gives to the incredulous Eumæus of the approaching return of his master, by permitting the swineherd to throw him over the "great rock" if his words should prove false [1]. Near the pigádhi is another smaller cavern, which also contains water.

Below them the torrent continues its rapid course to the sea along a narrow glen, where a deep channel in the lime-stone rock is overhung with the trees which cover all the heights around, and which consist chiefly of lentisk, agnus-castus, myrtle, and holly-oak. The scenery of the Arethusa and Corax is very beautiful, not only in its nearer features, but as commanding a noble prospect of the sea, of the Echinades, and of the coasts of Acarnania and Ætolia, seen through the openings of the woody precipices. The port of Lia is well sheltered from the north by an island, on either side of which there is a convenient access to the harbour, and a considerable depth of water near the shore, as in every part of the coast of Ithaca. The island is covered with brushwood, and is up-

under the coast with a pleasant maestrale, and having passed the little harbour of St. Andrew under the southern termination of Mount Merovúgli, stand over for Cape Khélia, in Kefalonía. The wind coming afterwards from that shore, we are obliged to beat into the anchorage of Agríli, in the south-eastern angle of the great bay of Samo.

Sept. 22.—Samos, which has preserved its name ever since the first establishment of a Greek city on this spot, is now nothing more than a street of magazines, situated at the north-eastern extremity of a wide valley which borders the bay, and which is overlooked to the southward by the great summit called 'Elato, and by the Italians Montenero. *Same*, or the city of the Σαμαῖοι, as we find it written on the coins of this place, stood on the north-western face of a bicipitous height, which rises from the shore at the northern end of the street of magazines. The ruins and vestiges of the ancient walls show that the city occupied the two summits, an intermediate hollow, and their slope as far as the sea. With the exception of some terraces of olive trees and corn on the northern side of the two hills, they are entirely covered with wild shrubs, and are connected behind with higher ridges in a similar state, which follow the coast to the southward, as far as the vale of Pronos. On the northern of the two summits are the ruins of an acropolis, consisting of the entire circuit of the foundations, and in some places of several courses of masonry of the most regular kind; the stones are fitted together with the greatest nicety, and some which I measured are equal to cubes of 6 or 8 feet. All

the ground within the citadel, with the exception of a rocky height in the centre, is cultivated with corn, and strewn with fragments of ancient pottery. In the midst of the ploughed ground are the remains of a large cistern built of Roman bricks. On the summit of the southern height stands a monastery dedicated to the ἁγίοι φανέντες, on one side of which are some remains of a Hellenic wall, which appears to have encircled this summit, thus forming a second but smaller castle. This agrees with Livy, who mentions both the arx major, or greater citadel of Same, and another named Cyatis.

Same was considerably smaller than Leucas, its circuit being barely two miles. The south-eastern or upper wall of the city, which united the two citadels, is still in part preserved on the side of either hill; the eastern and western faces of the town walls may also be traced in places, as well as some parts of that side which was parallel to the sea beach; one piece in particular towards the western angle, is of the most regular kind and finest workmanship, being formed of stones exactly equal, with projections in the middle of the face of each stone, and as usual in this kind of masonry, with one narrow course near the ground. In the hollow between the two hills towards the center of the site are many foundations of ancient masonry, and near the western angle of the city some remains of moles, which were probably connected with the maritime wall of the city, project from the beach into the sea; they formed an artificial shelter for vessels, which was very necessary here,

as the bay, although well adapted to a large modern fleet, was too much exposed for ancient ships. Near the jetties are some shapeless ruins of Roman brick. Some other remains of the same construction, vulgarly called the zecca, or mint, are to be seen at a considerable distance to the eastward of the ancient site, near a metókhi of the monastery; and there is a third ruin of brick-work on the western side of the walls, behind the modern street, which by the apertures in its walls seems to have been a bath. These ruins of Roman construction are the more remarkable, as Strabo, who correctly describes the situation of Same, asserts that in his time there remained only a few vestiges of the city [1]. It would seem that Same, like many other Greek cities, revived after the time of Augustus, and that the existing remains belonged to buildings of a subsequent date. Many sepulchres have been discovered in the cultivated fields adjacent to the ancient site, as well as near the *Mint*, where in particular an old monk of the metókhi remembers two gold coins to have been found.

The solidity and finished construction of the existing specimens of the Hellenic walls of Same seem worthy of a city which stood a siege of four months against the Romans under the consul M. Fulvius Nobilior, in the year 189 B. C. [2]. I have already hinted that the northern height seems to be the *major arx*, or chief citadel, noticed by Livy

[1] ἡ νῦν μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐστιν, ἴχνη δ' αὐτῆς δείκνυται κατὰ μέσον τὸν πρὸς Ἰθάκῃ πορθμόν· οἱ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς Σαμαῖοι καλοῦνται.—Strabo, p. 455.

[2] Liv. l. 38, c. 29.

on that occasion, and the height of the Fanéndes that named *Cyatis*. Fulvius, after having reduced Ambracia and Ætolia, had passed over into Cephallenia, and received hostages from its four cities, when the Samæi, suddenly changing their conduct, shut their gates against the Romans. The siege was remarkable for the diligence with which the besieged retrenched their walls as quickly as they were demolished, and for the vigorous and frequent sallies by which they interrupted the operations of the enemy. In these sorties, their most effective opponents were 100 slingers of Achaia, who having been habituated from their youth to exercise, with pebbles found on the beach of Ægium, Patræ, and Dyme, had acquired a greater skill in their art, even than the slingers of the Balearic Islands. When at length the besieged had become weakened by fatigue and loss of men, the Romans scaled the Cyatis during the night, and from thence penetrated into the agora, upon which the Samæi retired into the larger citadel, and the next day surrendered and were enslaved.

The ruins of Same command a good view of the western side of Ithaca, and the outline of the four natural divisions of the island, Oxoí, Anoí, Aetó, and Vathý, is particularly well marked from hence. The valley of Same is about 3 miles in width at the sea, and 5 or 6 in length from north to south. Above the latter extremity, in a lofty situation, stands the village of Kuluráta, under Mount 'Elato[1],

[1] Pliny (l. 4, c. 12.) gives the name of Elatus to the mountain, not of Cephallenia, but of Zacynthus, which accords

and there are several other small villages on the heights around the plain. The whole forms the district of Samos; it produces chiefly corn and olives. A brook, now dry, which rises in Mount 'Elato flows through the middle of the plain into the bay. According to Strabo, the ancient appellation of this great mountain, which is so lofty as to be visible at sea, together with Ætna in Sicily, was Ænus; and he adds, that upon it stood a temple of Jupiter Ænesius[1]. A few years ago, an accidental fire, like that which happened in Mount *Parnes*, destroyed a great part of the woods of fir, from which Mount 'Elato derives its modern name. The bare stems are now conspicuous monuments of the misfortune.

Having with difficulty procured a mule and two asses, I depart from Samo for Argostóli at 3.30, P.M.; we cross the plain in its widest part, and arrive in an hour at the village of Puláta, situated on the slope of the range, which is a continuation of Mount 'Elato, and occupies the whole length of the island, beginning southward at Cape Skala, and approaching the northern coast near Asso; from whence it is prolonged northward in the form of a long promontory, which lies parallel to *Ithaca*, and terminates at Cape Viskárdho, opposite to Cape Dukáto in Lefkádha.

in some measure with the ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος of Homer, by rendering it probable that the mountains of Zante, though now bare, were formerly covered with firs.

[1] μέγιστον δ' ὄρος ἐν αὐτῇ Αἶνος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς Αἰνησίου ἱερόν.—Strabo, p. 456.

After passing Puláta, we ascend the ridge slowly through bushes and rocks by a very rugged path, and arrive a little after sunset at the summit, from whence there is a fine view of both sides of the island. To the west appears the great bay and the town of Lixúri. Argostóli and its harbour are hid by a round mountain in face of us, which forms a ridge parallel to that of Mount 'Elato; between them is a rugged valley poorly cultivated, with a torrent at the bottom. To the left of the round mountain, near the head of Argostóli Bay, is seen Livadhó, the third town in the island, and having in its dependency 22 villages, with all the ancient plain of the *Cranii*, whose city occupied a site still called Kraniá, above the south-eastern angle of the bay of Argostóli. In the middle of the plain of Livadhó rises the insulated height of St. George, crowned with a Venetian castle, now abandoned. Strabo seems to have had a most incorrect idea of Cephallenia, for he states that its circumference was only 300 stades, instead of which it is near 800, and that at the gulf containing the cities of the Cranii and Palenses the island

lage of 500 tuféks, and said to be the most rebellious and disorderly in the island. From Farakláta we continue to descend a road something better than before, but which required a sure-footed mule and a fine moonlight night to make it tolerably safe. On every side are bare rocks, with very little cultivation in the intervals. At length we enter a narrow rocky torrent bed, which emerges at an hour below Farakláta, on a small level on the side of the Bay of Argostóli, opposite the northern end of the town; thence proceed along the sea side to a ferry opposite the southern end, which we cross at 9.

The only place of amusement either at Argostóli or Lixúri is a Casino at each of those places, where the people meet, drink coffee, and play. There is little society on account of the family enmities. The houses of Argostóli have in general only one story, on account of the earthquakes, to which this island has the reputation of being more subject than any of the surrounding countries; the lowest part of the wall is of stone, and the upper of wood, and the stone-work contains a framing of wood, in order that the house may stand even if the earthquake should throw down the stones. The town is very irregular, and in the outskirts are a great number of miserable cottages. The fences of the surrounding gardens and fields are chiefly composed of American aloes.

Sept. 24.—The walls of the *Cranii* are among the best extant specimens of the military architecture of the Greeks, and a curious example of their attention to strength of position in preference to other conveniences, for nothing can be more rug-

ged and forbidding than the greater part of the site. The inclosure, which was of a quadrilateral form, and little, if at all, less than three miles in circumference, followed the crests of several rocky summits, surrounding an elevated hollow which falls to the south-eastern extremity of the Gulf of Argostóli. This extremity served for an harbour to the city, and may perhaps have been so narrowed by moles from either shore as to have formed a closed port. The highest of the mountains just mentioned is that which rises in face of Argostóli to the east. There are few or no remains of the town wall along the crest of this mountain, which formed the north-western face of the city; but from its inland extremity commences the north-eastern face, through the whole of which the lower parts of the walls and towers are extant, and in the middle the principal gate of the city in a similar state of preservation, retired within the line of the walls, and having a quadrangular dromus before it like that of *Platæa*, about fifteen yards square. The south-eastern and south-western fronts of the city are in some parts, particularly towards the

the north-eastern side led immediately into the elevated hollow already mentioned, which is grown with olives, and is watered by a torrent from the eastern summit, which, meeting another from the northern, flows to the harbour. The walls of the north-eastern front are a complete specimen of the second or polygonal species of masonry. A foundation stone in one of the towers is twelve feet long, eight feet high, and thick in proportion. On the south-eastern and south-western faces some of the masonry is more regular. On the outside of the north-eastern face, near the eastern angle, are the remains of a wall built at a right angle to the inclosure of the city, and stretching from that wall to a brook at the foot of the height, thus effectually obstructing the passage of an enemy along the foot of the walls, and obliging him to make a great circuit. At Crania, as in other Hellenic fortifications, the beautiful masonry of the walls was only a facing, all the middle of the work, amounting to a third of the thickness, having been formed of rough stones and mortar. Not a vestige of any foundations, either constructed or excavated, is to be seen among the rugged rocks within the inclosure, a remark which I have had occasion to apply to several other ancient sites of great extent, and of the same rocky kind, and which seems to show that the chief intent of these extensive inclosures was to secure the inhabitants, cattle, and property, of the whole district in moments of danger, and that they were very partially occupied in times of tranquillity. The mode of warfare of the Greeks, and the tenor of their history, support this opinion.

Sept. 25.—Sail to Lixúri in company with the commandant of the Russian garrison and our vice-consul, Mr. Victor Karýdhi. Dine with the prýtano, and visit the Paleó-kastro, which is now nothing but a small height rising immediately from the side of the bay, about a mile and a half to the north of the town. It is formed of the same kind of white soil as the Castle-hill of Zákytho, and is cut into gullies by the rain in the same manner. In such a soil it is not to be expected that we should find many remains of antiquity; accordingly there is nothing left but a receptacle for a single body, excavated in the upper part of a great rock on the summit of the hill, and a well or cistern, which is also cut out of a vein of rock. In the fields, however, at the foot of this height, near the sea, many ancient squared blocks are scattered about, and there is a wall which, although built of loose stones and mortar, appears once to have had a Hellenic facing. An old man whom I meet, remembers to have seen an inscription found here, with the word Παλαιῶν on it, which was carried to Venice[1]. At a casino several large wrought quad-

one before-mentioned, excavated in the summit of a great rock. These are now the only remains of *Pale* aboveground, but the name in the slightly-corrupted form of Pálio still remains attached to the plain, which extends about ten miles in circumference around Paleókastro, and the whole Peninsula, as far as the western coast and Gulf of Asso, is called Palikí[1], which, being purely Hellenic, is sufficient with the name of Pálio, and the vestiges of antiquity on and around the hill of Paleókastro, to fix the latter for the site of the ancient Pale, or city of the Παλεῖς, or Palenses, for such appears to have been the local form of the name, which varies greatly in the printed authorities. Palikí is now divided into two districts Anoí and Katoí[2]. The plain of Pálio has a white argillaceous soil, similar to that of Zákytho, and consists chiefly of currant plantations fenced with aloes; there are several wind-mills in it. The town of Lixúri is more irregular than that of Argostóli, the streets dirtier, the houses of the rich more mean, and the poorer cottages more numerous. A muddy rivulet crossed by two small bridges, traverses the middle of the town. It is reckoned more populous than Argostóli, and the situation more healthy, which may easily be imagined as it is well ventilated, and has none of that shallow water and marshy ground which are at the head of the Bay of Argostóli: the inhabitants are for the most part seamen.

The island of Kefalonía is divided into eighteen districts. The population is about 60,000. The

[1] Παλικὴ. [2] Ἄνωθι, Κατωθί.

exports in the order of quantity are currants, wine, oil, cheese, barley, caroubs, oats, oranges and lemons, honey, melons, cibibo, madder, liquorice, squills, and aloes. Among the productions are also maize and wheat, but not more than sufficient for the consumption of two or three months; with some cotton and flax, used in the manufacture of coarse stuffs, and a small quantity of coarse blankets and capots made from the wool of the island. The seafaring population, including fishermen, amounts to near 3,000. The soil is rocky in the mountainous districts, and stony even in the plains; but the productions are generally good in their kinds, particularly the wine, of which the island would be capable of producing a great variety and quantity, if there were more care and intelligence in the cultivation and manufacture of it. Want of water is the great defect of the island. There is not a single constantly flowing stream: the sources are neither numerous nor plentiful, and many of them fail entirely in dry summers, creating sometimes a great distress.

The ancient writers notice only four cities in

besides these four cities, all which were of sufficient importance to coin their own money, it appears, from several Hellenic names still existing, that there were some other fortresses or subordinate towns in Cephallenia. The position of Asso, on a peninsula commanding two harbours, concurs with the evidence of a piece of Hellenic wall in the modern castle, to show that here stood a fortress named Assus. On the same coast, to the southward, at the north-western extremity of the peninsula of Palikí, the harbour of Aterra indicates an ancient site by its name, which differs only by a slight dialectic variation from Atella, a known name. Farther south, on the coast of the same peninsula, Tafió, where many ancient sepulchres are found, is the site apparently of Taphus, a Cephallenian town, noticed by Stephanus. Towards the opposite side of the island Rakli and Orissó, or Erissó, have every appearance of being ancient names. Rakli, which lies between the north-eastern side of Mount 'Elato and the maritime ridge, seems to indicate that there was anciently a *Heraclia* in that valley, and Erissó, that the long narrow peninsula so named at the northern extremity of the island, contained anciently a town of *Erissus*. The port of Viskárdho is evidently the *Panormus*, which an epigram of Antipater of Thessalonica describes as being opposite to Ithaca [1], and which Artemidorus, by attri-

[1] Φοῖβε Κεφαλλήνων λιμενόσκοπε, θῖνα Πανόρμου
Ναίων τρηχείης ἀντιπέρην Ἰθάκης.
Anthol. Jacobs. vol. ii. p. 99.

buting to it a distance of twelve stades from that island [1], shows to have been in this the narrowest strait. The convenience of this harbour, at the part of the entrance of the channels of *Ithaca* and *Leucate*, has in all ages rendered it valuable. On a former journey I observed there some remains of Roman ruins near the shore, and there would seem, from the ancient authorities which I have cited, to have been a temple of Apollo on the point which shelters the northern side of the port, corresponding to a similar temple on the summit of Leucate. In the time of Strabo, Cephallenia was inhabited by the ex-consul Caius Antonius Nepos, uncle of Marcus Antonius, when he was exiled from Italy. The whole island obeyed him as if it had been his private property, and he projected the building of a new city, but being recalled from banishment, and dying soon afterwards, his intention was never executed. Pale, Pronus, and Crania were then small, and Same a mere ruin [2].

[1] Artemidorus ap. Porphyr. Ant. Nymph.

[2] Strabo, p. 455.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CYTHERA, ÆGÆAN ISLANDS.

Arrival at Tzerígo—Kapsáli—*Cythera, Phœnicus, Scandeia*—Milo—Khora—Kastro—Ruins of *Melus*—Paro, ancient city—Description of the Island—Andíparo—Ancient Quarries of *Parus*—Kostó—Mármara—Naxía, *Naxus*—Island of Paláti—Villages, Population, Produce—Dhiles—*Delus, Hierum of Apollo,* Mount *Cynthus, Olympieium—Rheneia*—Mýkono, *Myconus*—Skyro, *Scyrus*—Port *Achilleium*—Skánghero—*Scopelus, Sciathus, Halonesus, Icus*—Aistráti.

Sept. 30.—We anchor this evening at Kapsáli, in Cerigo, after having encountered off the *Tœnarian* promontory some stormy weather, which threatened to send us to the coast of Africa. It was in consequence of an adverse gale in the same place and at the same season that I had the misfortune, in company with Mr. Hamilton and the late Lieut. Col. Squire, to be shipwrecked at Avlémona, in this island.

Oct. 1.—Remain at the port in my tent, and receive our vice-consul Calucci, to whose kindness on that occasion we were extremely indebted. In the evening we walk up to the town together, and attend a baptism at the house of Mr. Mormorí, the Russian vice-consul, the Prýtano George Arvanitáki, of Zante, standing godfather. This Prýtano is well

spoken of by the Cerigotes as disinterested, liberal and impartial. The pay of Prýtano is 90 dollars a month, that of Legislator 80 dollars, of a Senator 60. The Prýtano keeps a table for aides-de-camp and secretaries, for which he has no allowance. The garrison of Cerigo now consists only of two Russian officers with one company, and a few Albanians, chiefly Suliotes.

The obscurity of the history of Greece during the middle ages, renders it impossible to trace the modern appellation of this island to its origin. It is almost the only instance of a Sclavonic name in the Greek islands. Tzerígo was perhaps a Servian chieftain, who obtained possession of *Cythera* when the Σκύθαι Σκλάβοι, or barbarians of Sclavonic race settled in the *Peloponnesus* in such numbers that a name of Sclavonic origin has ever since remained attached to the peninsula [1]. Τζερίγος, in Italian Cerigo, contains about 50 villages and 7000 inhabitants: in the town there are scarcely 1000. The most fruitful parts are the plains of Mylopótamo and Livádhi; the latter, which I formerly crossed on my way from Avlémona to the town, consists of vineyards and corn fields, interspersed with olive and other fruit trees, as well as with villages, single houses, and labourers' huts. The town of Cerigo stands on a narrow ridge 500 yards in length, terminating at the south-eastern end in a precipitous rock, crowned with a castle which is accessible only on

[1] Moréa, from More, (sea,) as being the maritime province κατ ἐξοχήν.

the side towards the town, by a steep and winding path, but is commanded by a conical height at the opposite end of the ridge. The town is enfiladed by a battery of three guns in the castle, which was erected or repaired by the French when they took possession of the Venetian Islands.

In the north-western height, which is composed of a bluish calcareous stone, the most common rock in the island, are some hard argillaceous veins, noted for containing numerous bones perfectly resembling the natural bone, except that the place of the marrow is filled with pellucid crystals. The people of Cerigo long believed, and most of them probably still believe, that these bones are human; but anatomists have pronounced some jaw bones and teeth which have been found among them, to have belonged to a species of deer. Another kind of limestone which is brought to Cerigo from Candia, for the purpose of being pounded and mixed with the new wine, contains petrified fish, very much resembling those of Mount *Libanus*.

Heraclides Ponticus describes the people of Cythera as laborious, and lovers of money, and the island as productive, particularly in honey and wine [1]. The character of the people is the necessary consequence of the rocky soil on which they dwell. Although the productions, like those of some others of the dryest islands, as Kefalonía and Zia are good in their kinds, their quantity, with the exception of honey and wine, is seldom more

[1] *φέρει γὰρ ἡ νῆσος πολλά, γυροι δέ εἰσι καὶ φιλοπόνοι.— καὶ μέλι καὶ οἶνον . . . φιλάρ-* Heraclid. Pont. in Κυθηρίων.

than sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. There is nothing, therefore, to attract commerce to Cerigo, and the people have very little of that carrying trade which has enriched some much more barren rocks. As in Zákytho and Kefalonía, many of the men obtain subsistence abroad as agricultural labourers, not however in general like the natives of those islands, on the neighbouring continent, but in Asia Minor, where they cultivate the Turkish lands, and gather madder in the mountains. By these means they often bring back a few purses to their native island, and are enabled to buy some land here. Beef is scarcely ever eaten, as there are no more oxen in the island than are required for the plough. Pork and mutton, hares and quails, of which there is a great quantity in the autumn, are the principal meats; the consumption of which is much economized by the 150 fast days of the Greek calendar. The island is very subject to earthquakes; several occurred last July.

The situation of the modern town of Cerigo so

thera which was near it, and thirdly Scandeia, which had a harbour [1], and was in a part of the island distant from the two former places.

In the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians undertook an expedition against this island with 60 triremes, 2000 hoplitæ, some cavalry, a body of Milesii, and a few others of the Athenian allies, the whole commanded by Nicias and two other generals. While a detachment of 2000 Milesii and 10 ships captured Scandeia, the remainder proceeded to the shore opposite to Cape Malea in Peloponnesus, and having debarked, marched to the maritime city of the Cytherii [2], who met the invaders, but having been defeated, retired to their upper city [3], where they capitulated to Nicias on the sole condition that their lives should be spared. The Athenians then took possession of Scandeia, left a garrison in the city Cythera, and proceeded against Asine, Helos and other maritime places in Laconia.

At Paleópoli, about three miles inland from the port of Avlémona, are the ruined walls of an ancient town, and as the situation is not far from the Cape of *Cythera* opposite to the promontory of *Laconia*, which is still named Maléa, it seems evidently to have been the upper Cythera intended by Thucydides, in which case it cannot but follow that

[1] *τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλιν Σκάνδειαν καλουμένην . . . . . τὸ ἐπὶ λιμένι πόλισμα.*—Thucyd. l. 4, c. 53.

[2] *τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ στρατεύματι ἀποβάντες τῆς νήσου ἐς τὰ πρὸς Μαλέαν τετραμμένα, ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων.*—c. 54.

[3] *ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν.*

Avlémona was the site of the maritime *Cythera*. From Xenophon there is reason to believe that this lower town was also called Phœnicus, for in describing an expedition similar to that of Nicias, which was undertaken by Conon and Pharnabazus in the Corinthiac war, the historian relates that when the fleet anchored at Phœnicus, the Cytherii abandoned their city, and that Conon, having sent them over to Laconia, strengthened the walls of Cythera and left an Athenian garrison in it[1]. This happened in the year B. C. 393, in the spring succeeding the naval victory of Conon at Cnidus, and the same year in which the Long Walls of Athens were rebuilt.

The name Phœnicus was obviously derived from that Phœnician colony which, according to Herodotus, imported into Cythera the worship of the Syrian Venus, by the Greeks surnamed Urania, and whose temple (described by Pausanias as the most ancient and holy of all those, dedicated in Greece to Aphrodite) stood in the city of the Cytherii[2]. The whole circuit of Cerigo being very deficient in harbours, there is no point on the coast at which it is so probable that the Phœnicians should have landed, as in the sheltered creek of Avlémona[3]. And the appearance of the ruins

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 4, c. 8.

[2] Herodot. l. 1, c. 105. Pausan. Lacon. c. 23. The statue still remained in the time of Pausanias, made of wood, and representing the goddess as armed.

[3] Avlémona itself may be an ancient name: αὐλήμων derived from αὐλὸς, in allusion to its long narrow form, bordered by steep rocks.

at Paleópoli, which I examined on my former journey, is equally in agreement with the remote antiquity of the town, which may be inferred from that of the temple.

Every circumstance, therefore, in the transactions related by the historians favours the supposition that Paleópoli was the site of upper Cythera, and Avlémona that of Phœnicus or the lower town; and that *Scandeia* stood at the modern town of Cerigo. Pausanias, however, is directly opposed to this conclusion; for he describes Scandeia as the ἐπίνειον, or harbour of the city which contained the temple of Venus, and as situated only ten stades below it, which leads directly to the conclusion that *Cythera* was at the modern town; that *Scandeia* was at Kapsáli, and that it was the same place as the lower Cythera—which cannot be reconciled with the historians.

The island to the south-east of Cerígo, called Cerigotto by the Italians, is named Liús by the Greeks of Cerigo and the Moréa, and by the Sfakhiótes of Crete Seghilió, a corruption or dialectic variation of Αἰγιλία, which, as we learn from Pliny and Stephanus[1], was the ancient name of the island; the former places Ægilia at 15 M.P. from Cythera, and at 25 from Phalasarna in Crete: Lycophron alludes to it under the name of Ægilus[2]. There are about 40 families in Seghílio, of whom

[1] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 12. Stephan. in Αἰγιλία.

[2] Θρέξεις ὑπὲρ Σκάνδειαν Αἰγίλου τ' ἄκρον.—Lycophr. v. 108.

four are from Cerigo. The island is a nominal dependence of Cerigo, and consequently belongs to the Septinsular state; but there being no garrison, it is in fact in the hands of the Sfakhiótes. It produces good wheat, of which a portion, in favourable years, is sent to Crete: the port is bad, and open to the north. The small island named Porri by the Italians, lying to the north of Cerigotto, is called Prasonísi by the Greeks.

Oct. 3.—Sail in the afternoon from Kapsáli: anchor at night at Furnus, and

Oct. 4.—Visit this morning the cavern of Mylopótamo, two miles north of Furnus. It is winding and intricate, with many branching passages, columns of stalactites, and basins of clear water formed by droppings from the roof: in most parts it is very low, and there is no large opening or chamber in any part. The village of Mylopótamo is about a mile above it, and is so called from a rivulet which rises there and turns twelve mills: in the present season the water is all consumed before it reaches the sea, but some-

blows on the western coast, and anchor in the bay of Vátika[1], from whence we sail.

Oct. 7.—And having again passed Maléa and Cape Kamíli:

Oct. 8.—Find ourselves this morning a little south of Ierakúnia, called Falconéra by the Italians. Arrowsmith has correctly marked the situation of these rocks as well as those which he calls Anánes and Paximádhi, near the southern extremity of Milo. Those names, however, are unknown to my sailors, who call them Ktiniá and Prasonísi.

Oct. 10.—Light adverse winds or calms, accompanied with rain having continued to prevail, it is not until this morning that we enter the port of Milo, and anchor near the head of the bay. Land, and visit the hot springs: the hottest is on the sea-beach, a mile from the old town. The ground around them is impregnated with sulphur, as appears by a yellow crust on many of the stones. In the side of a little rocky height above is another hot source in a cavern, and a vapour issuing from the fissures so hot that the water appears less so than it really is. A thick crust of salt is formed on the rocks around, and flakes of salt float on the surface. Turks from the neighbouring continent sometimes come here to take a course of bathing. To the south-east of this height are some salt-pans, and a marshy level, in which, towards the hills, stands the khora, or town, once containing 16,000 inhabitants, but now not more than 200

[1] For a more extended journal of Oct. 4, 5, 6, 7, see *Travels in the Morea*, vol. i. p. 507.

families. There are 25 Greek and 2 Latin churches still remaining. The ruins and the naked valley surrounded by white rocky heights, and with scarcely any vegetation except a few meagre date-trees, give the place a most dismal appearance. The air is said to be very unhealthy. In the afternoon I proceed to the village called Kastro, which is situated on a peaked rocky height above the northern side of the entrance of the bay, and lodge in the house of the English vice-consul, Mr. Peter Mikhélis, who with many of his relations, and all the richer Miliótes, gain their livelihood as pilots for the *Ægæan* sea. At the highest point of the village they have a look-out room, where some of them are always on the watch for ships making signals for pilots. They are well supplied with English telescopes, and have good boats, with which they sometimes meet vessels at a distance of 12 or 15 miles from the island. The rule is, that whoever first discovers a ship has a prior right to offer himself as pilot.

Milo has now not more than between 2 and 3000 inhabitants, who, in addition to the productions consumed by themselves, raise for exportation, in tolerable years, 2000 kila politiká of wheat[1], and 12 or 14000 of barley, 2 or 300 kantári of cotton, and 1500 barrels of wine. The island would derive also a considerable profit from its mines of alum and sulphur, if the fear of the Porte did not prevent the inhabitants from working them. The mines are on the eastern side of the island,

[1] The κοῖλον πολιτικὸν, or kilo of Constantinople, is considered to contain 22 okes, or 60 English pounds.

near a height which emits smoke, and has every appearance of having been a volcano [1].

The oil produced in the island is seldom sufficient, even in good years, for its consumption. They depend upon their neighbours for cheese, and import a few European articles of household furniture. The men are all dressed in the white cotton cloth made in the island, with the exception of a few of the more opulent, who wear striped cottons from Turkey. The dress of the women is also of Miliote cotton, generally with a red edging or fringe of flaxen lace, which is also home-made. There are a few looms in the island for the making of a coarse woollen cloth. They have few sheep, and oxen only for tillage. The soil is not in general good, the cotton pods are small, and the wheat and barley, though sometimes returning 10 to 1, supply only a dingy disagreeable bread.

The island is capable of producing excellent wine, as some specimens prove, both sweet and dry, but little care is observed in the making, and water is generally mixed with the wine before it is offered for sale. The island suffers often from drought, potherbs are very scarce, and there is no fruit of any kind. At the present season grapes are brought for sale from Sifno.

Oct. 11.—Between the hill of Kastro and the northern shore of the harbour are the ruins of the ancient city of Melus, which seems to have extended quite to the water side, as there are remains of walls and of a round tower on the beach.

[1] See the description of it in Olivier.

On the highest part, which is immediately overlooked by the village, are some remains of polygonal walls, and others of regular masonry with round towers. The western wall of the city is traceable all the way down the hill from the summit to the sea: on the east it followed the ridge of some cliffs, but some foundations remain only in a few places.

Within the inclosure, on the slope of the hill, are many other pieces of ancient wall, faced with regular masonry, but filled within with rubble and mortar. There is, particularly, a fine angle of the most regular kind, and preserving twelve or fourteen courses, a little eastward of a pointed hill, near the middle of the site, on the summit of which stands a church of St. Elias, and a small monastery, with a lodging for a single monk. This building occupies probably the site of a small temple, as near it lies a stone which formed one of the angles of a pediment, including part of a Corinthian cornice below it. The stone is 3 ft. 10 in. in length, the same in thickness, and 3 ft. high in the highest part. In a field immediately below this spot are other fragments of the same edifice, among which is a capital of a pilaster of the Corinthian order, 2 ft. 9 in. square at bottom. Here also formerly stood an altar, with ornaments of sculpture, which has since been transported to England. That all the architectural remains belonged to one and the same building can scarcely be doubted, as they are all of Parian marble, with blue veins, and the dimensions of the pediment and cornice correspond exactly to those of the pilaster and

column. The building seems, therefore, to have been a temple *in antis*, with two columns in the portico, and having a total breadth in the front of from 15 to 18 feet. On the upper member of the cornice is the beginning of an inscription, showing that the building was erected by one Sabinius, son of Zopyrus[1]. The form of the characters concurs with the Corinthian order in indicating an early period of the Roman Empire. At the foot of the same height, a little to the westward, is a quadrangular foundation of regular masonry, of which, in one part, four or five courses remain, and near it is a cistern in the usual form, lined with stucco. On several parts of the slopes are remains of walls, some of which perhaps were interior inclosures of defence; others were evidently terraces to support buildings.

On the height immediately to the eastward of the ancient city is a village named Τρυπητή, from the small catacombs with which the hill is pierced in every part. Some of these are of very irregular shapes, with narrow passages and niches on each side. They were generally made for three, five, or seven bodies. Some of them have been converted into magazines for straw and corn, and a few into dwellings. Others having passages descending from the entrance, have been converted by the inhabitants into cisterns, which are filled by the rain, or by hand, in the winter, and supply water all the summer, each family keeping its cistern locked.

[1] Vide Inscription, No. 116.

Kastro depends also for water upon its cisterns, which are of modern construction. The only spring in the vicinity is to the westward of the ancient city, on the sea-side, where is a chapel of St. Nicolas. The water of this source is excellent, which is a great rarity in Milo. Eastward of Trypití, a narrow valley, which is planted with olives, and gardens, and slopes to the sea, has several sepulchral excavations on its western side, most of which are composed of two chambers, having a niche on each side in the outer chamber, and five niches in the inner, two on each side and one at the end. Of one, which I measured, the outer chamber was 11 ft. square; and the inner, 16 ft. 10 in. by 12 ft. 1 in.; 7 ft. 3 in. in perpendicular height in the centre, and 6 ft. 3 in. at the walls, the roof terminating in an angle. Another, considerably larger, is open in front; and another, very long and narrow, has only one chamber, in which are three niches on each side, and one at the end. This valley of the dead terminates at the sea, at the eastern angle of the city, where are the remains of buildings in the water, and the ancient round tower already mentioned. Here also is an ancient mole in the water, and ruins of a modern round tower, now serving for a boat-house. From thence, eastward, a cliff borders the coast, in the face of which are some catacombs near the water's edge, but they are inaccessible, except by sea in a calm, and as it blows a gale to-day, it is out of my power to examine them. The labourers in the valley eastward of Trypití

often find coins, small earthen figures, and vases, sometimes with drawings on them [1].

The Vóivoda of Milo is a Sifniote, named Constantine Bagho [2], who bought the place of the Kapitán Pashá; he collects for his own benefit the customs, kharátj and dhekatía. The latter is a sixth of all agricultural productions, besides which the island pays the kharátj for the ancient population of 16000 inhabitants; but as this is too glaring an injustice, it is customary for the Vóivoda to make a present every year to the island of six purses. His annual payment to the Kapitán Pashá is about 25 purses, and he is supposed to gain 6 or 7, which he might greatly increase if he were such an extortioner as many of the Greek farmers of the revenue are, or if he followed the common practice of exciting and profiting by disputes among the inhabitants [3].

[1] Since my visit to Milo, a theatre has been discovered, of the existence of which the Kastrites at that time were unconscious, unless for some inexplicable reason they thought proper to conceal their knowledge. But the indifference of the islanders to their antiquities is greater even than that of the continental Greeks; and I should perhaps never have known of the ruins of Melus at all, if I had not observed some indications of them from Kastrí. From similar causes they were unknown to Tournefort and Choiseul: the first published account of them was by Olivier, whose work I had not seen.

[2] Μπάγω.

[3] The following measurements from the summit of Kastro at Milo may possibly be of use to geographers:

Mount St. Elias, S. 40½ W.	
with Cape Vaní, southern entrance of the harbour..	70° 47′
The same with southern Cape of Eremómilo, or Andímilo.....	74 3

Oct. 12.—In beating out of the harbour against a west-south-west wind, remains of the western extremity of the walls of the city are visible, where they terminate on the water side, immediately beyond which is the spring of good water before mentioned. At a considerable distance farther westward are some catacombs, a little westward of Turko-vuni, which forms the northern cape of the harbour. The point opposite to the rocks named Arkúdhia is called Kidhári, not Lakkidi, as in Arrowsmith's chart. A light S. E. breeze in the night carries us round the north-western end of Sifno, called Sifanto by the Italians, and in the morning we are between that island and Syra.

Oct. 13.—The town of Sifno is spread over a large space, or rather is divided into several villages on a mountain, above which, on the highest part of the island, appears a small church, conspicuous at a distance. The town of Syra stands on a peaked height, near the middle of the island, and has a harbour below it on the eastern coast. In steering for Paro, leaving Dhespotikó and Andíparo on the right, Naxía makes its appearance beyond Paro, which differs again from the chart.

The same with northern cape of the same island	87	55
The same with the passage between the Arkúdhia rocks	123	55
North Cape of Andímilo with Cape Kidhári, which is opposite to the north-easternmost of the Arkúdhia..	44	5
The same with the western Cape of Serfo	64	46
The same with the eastern Cape of Serfo	80	0
The same with the N.E. of Sifno	97	44
The same with the western end of Kímolo....	112	38

The approach to Parikía[1], the chief town of Paro, is dangerous, there being several small rocks far out at sea, and one in particular just above water. A squall of wind with rain drives us before it into the harbour, which is capable only of receiving small vessels; ships are obliged to anchor on the outside of a chain of rocks which border the coast from Andíparo to the northern side of the bay of Parikía.

Kyr Mavroghéni, in whose house I am lodged at Parikía, is nephew of a prince of Wallachia, who was beheaded by a Grand Vezír without orders from the Porte, for which his own head followed the prince's. When interpreter of the Kapitán Pashá, Prince Mavroghéni constructed an aqueduct to supply his native city with water. The town, although not large, nor affording any great appearance of comparative opulence, has an agreeable aspect, as it consists of neat small houses with terraced roofs, surrounded by gardens of oranges and pomegranates, mixed with vines upon trellises. Though dry and well ventilated, without any impediment from neighbouring mountains, it is said to be subject to intermittents in summer.

On a rocky height on the sea-side, in the middle of the town, are the ruins of a castle, constructed chiefly of marbles which belonged to some ancient buildings once standing upon the same spot. Remains of one of these are still *in situ* forming a part of the belfry of a small church. Half the cell of a temple remains, built of small quadrangular blocks

[1] Παροικία, or more vulgarly Παρικιά.

of Parian marble, with a semicircular niche at the extremity, 10 ft. 2 in. in diameter, having an elegant Ionic frize surmounted with a cornice of eggs; the body of the cell has a cornice of very large eggs and anchors. In the wall of the tower close by some pieces are inserted of a small Doric cornice having a plain metope 8¾ inches broad, as well as other fragments of a Doric edifice, particularly many rows of portions of shafts placed in the wall with the ends outwards. These columns were 2 feet in the upper diameter, and unfluted but polygonal at the lower extremity. Here also are many portions of an architrave, one of which is 18 feet 8 inches long, and 3 feet high, the interval between the guttæ 1 foot 8 inches. Another piece of it has an imperfect inscription, containing, together with that of the archon, the name of the person who dedicated the building[1]. Ancient fragments and sepulchral monuments are numerous about the town. On several of the latter the deceased is represented, stretched on a couch having very high legs; underneath the couch the children are seen, and below all is the name. In the wall of a private house a very ancient bas-relief represents a procession of females, each having her hand upon the head of the preceding one; on another, in a still more archaic style, are a man and woman facing each other, and each holding a torch. In the metropolitan church of Parikía, which is a large building surrounded by a quadrangle of cells, are many fragments of ancient architecture, and among them two sepulchral stones, and two

[1] V. Inscription No. 117.

Ionic cornices. One of these has a *double* row of eggs and anchors. Several inscribed marbles are found at Parakía, chiefly in the castle and monastery [1].

The island of Paro consists of a single round mountain, sloping evenly to a maritime plain which surrounds the mountain on every side. The plain is well cultivated with corn and vines, as well as many parts of the mountain itself. The island produces no oil, and, except in a few dispersed gardens, there are no trees of any kind; the largest garden, which belongs to Mavroghéni, is on the shore opposite to Andíparo. In good years there is an exportation of ten or eleven thousand barrels of wine, twelve or fifteen thousand Constantinopolitan kila of barley, and five to seven thousand of wheat. The population is about 6000, of whom Andíparo contains 150, the remainder reside in Parikía and six villages named Aússa, Léfkes, Kostó, Mármara, Tzilídho, and Dragóta. The cattle are reckoned to be 14,000 sheep and goats, 1500 oxen, and 900 asses. The annual contribution to the Vóivoda is sixty purses, of which 1650 piastres are from Andíparo. The island possesses two excellent ports, Aússa [2], at the north end, and Dryó [3], to the south-east.

Oct. 14.—A four-oared boat lands me at the northern end of Andíparo, near the kastro, or castle, which is nothing more than a quadrangle

[1] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 118, 119, 120, 121.

[2] Ἀγοῦσσα.

[3] Τρυγὸς, or Τριὸς, or Δρυός.

of houses with a gate. It affords, however, some degree of security against a surprise by pirates or lawless seamen, who have ever been the scourge of the Levant: times are rather improved since Malta has been English, and the Maniátes have entered into a treaty with the Kapitán Pashá; but the seamen of the Ottoman navy are still very dangerous visitors. Andíparo was formerly much frequented by the Maltese and by piratical vessels, because they could always find shelter on the opposite side of the island to that on which the enemy appeared.

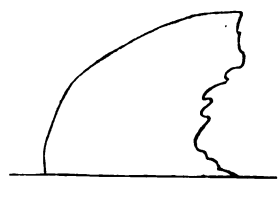
From the kastro to the grotto is an hour and half on ass-back. The route crosses a small valley which separates the ridge of kastro from the principal mountain of the island, and which is grown with vines. This is the only produce of the island; the rest of its cultivable land being neglected, as all the working hands except thirty are employed at sea. The celebrated cavern is on the southern side of the mountain, just above a cliff which borders the coast, facing Nio and Santorín. The entrance is extremely picturesque, but the

dimensions, the length of all that the eye can take in at once, being about 150 feet, the breadth 100, the height 50. A board preserves the names of some of the visitors, among which Lady Craven's is conspicuous, with those of a multitude of Frenchmen. The memorial which De Nointel left of his celebration of mass on Christmas-day 1673, is not much less defaced by the rapid increase of the stalagmatic surface than the Hellenic inscription, which has been exposed on the outside of the cave for two thousand years longer to an obliterating action of a different kind. The latter memorial could be decyphered without the assistance of Tournefort's copy, which he made more than a century ago, with the assistance of a transcript in the possession of a native[1]. Having returned to the village and dined with the Proestós, we row back to Parikía.

Oct. 15.—Departing on horseback from the north-eastern end of Parikía at 7.15, I gradually ascend the northern slope of the mountain, through small corn-fields fenced with walls of stone and surrounded by fig-trees, at 8 leave some ancient quarries half a mile on the right in a ravine of the mountain, where great heaps of πελεκίσματα, or chippings of stone, are lying before them,

[1] The inscription was nothing more than a record of the names of persons who had visited the grotto:—Ἐπὶ Κρίτωνος οἵδε ἦλθον, Μένανδρος, Σώχαρμος, Μενεκράτης, Ἀντίπατρος, Ἱππομέδων, Ἀριστέας, Φιλέας, Γόργος, Διογένης, Φιλοκράτης, Ὀνήσιμος. Crito was undoubtedly Archon, for that such was the title of the chief magistrate, appears from the fragment (No. 117) in the castle of Parikía.

and continuing to ascend from thence by a rugged path over rocks of white marble, arrive at 8.25 at the great quarries of Mount *Marpessa*[1], which are situated a little below a convent of St. Mina. There are several excavations, from which an immense quantity of marble seems to have been extracted at different times; the largest, which is on the side of the hill below the convent, is about 100 yards long and 25 feet broad, having a branch from the middle to the right, and another from the end to the left, each leading into a chamber, from which almost as much stone has been taken as from the great gallery itself. Of the latter, one side has been excavated so as to form a regular curve, and the other has been left rugged. The marks of the wedges with which the ancients wrought are conspicuous everywhere.



On the rise of the opposite hill, but very near the bottom, is another much smaller quarry, where on one side is the sculptured tablet

bearded, and supported upon two short legs; on one side of it is a figure with the horns of a Pan and the belly of a Silenus, sitting cross-legged; on the other are some small full-length figures. In the lower compartment a female is seated, having her hair arranged in the Egyptian or archaic Greek style, and bearing in her lap a smaller figure very indistinct[1]; a young man stands before the chair turning his face towards the goddess, and holding up one arm; behind him are three females in procession, facing in the opposite direction, and draped from the neck to the feet. Behind the seated deity the upper parts of several figures are introduced, particularly an old bearded head; some children also appear, but this part is much injured[2]. On the rock to the right of the tablet, immediately below the three females, and facing them, are several figures on half the scale, apparently worshippers. Below the tablet an inscription, in characters of the best times, shows that it was dedicated to the Nymphs by Adamas, a man of the Odrysæ of Thrace[3].

The worship of Pan and the Nymphs was so general in the caverns of Greece, that we can have

[1] In Stuart, vol. iv. pl. 5, it is represented as a lion.

[2] Two sculptures in relief, in which the same subject is somewhat differently treated, but both evidently belonging to Nymphæa, and representing the worship of Bacchus, the Earth, and Hours, have been engraved in the Museum Worsleyanum, and in Paciaudi Monum. Peloponn., p. 207. They were both found at Athens. Subjoined to the latter is the inscription *οἱ πλυνῆς νύμφαις εὐξαμένοι ἀνέθεσαν καὶ Θεοῖς πᾶσιν*, followed by the names of the bathers.

[3] V. Inscription No. 122.

no hesitation in recognizing Pan in the cross-legged figure of the upper compartment: the great human head with horns I take to be Bacchus Cornigerus, and the figures near him to be Silenus and his other attendants. The seated female in the lower compartment is probably Cybele, or the Earth, with her various attendants behind her, and those in front Atys and the three Horæ. It is not impossible that this sculpture may have originated in an accident alluded to by Pliny, who says, "In Pariorum (lapidicinis) mirabile proditur, glebâ lapidis unius cuneis dividentium solutâ, imaginem Sileni extitisse." The outline of a Silenus having accidentally appeared in the progress of quarrying, Adamas may have completed the work as a dedication to the Nymphs. There is another quarry near this, and a fourth near the great one. Everywhere the round grains by which the Parian marble is generally known is observable, and in some places they are larger than I have ever seen them in ancient monuments.

From the quarries we begin, at 9.40, to cross over the ridge of the mountain, and leaving the harbour of Aússa in sight on the left, descend to Kostó, and at 10.20 pass through that village. The flies are in these islands a greater torment than I have ever witnessed on the continent of Greece. They are particularly so to the cattle in the meridian hours, and annoy them so much, that it is impossible to ride without a covering over the nose of the horse, ass, or mule. Our guide having forgot this necessary article, I am obliged to complete on foot the journey to Mármara, where we arrive at

11.30. There is a considerable plain round this place, which is reckoned unhealthy, particularly in the present season: the disorder is a severe intermittent, which is probably, as well here as at Parikía, the consequence in great measure of unwholesome diet during the long fast of August, and the total want of vegetable food, until the vintage and season of figs. Nothing is to be procured but mutton, or goat, lean and ill-tasted for want of pasture.

Having crossed from Mármara to Naxía in three hours in a small boat, I procure a lodging in the house of his holiness ὁ Παρονα̃ξίας, as the metropolitan bishop of Paro and Naxía is designated, and to which is added the title, though not the authority, of head of all the Ægæan sea. The metropolitan church has been lately rebuilt; in digging the foundations of a small house adjoining to it, many marbles were found, and fragments of statues. At a point of land below the metropolis are the remains of a massive ancient wall, or mole, corresponding to another similar projecting from the southern side of the little island of Paláti, which is separated from the main by a strait of fifty or sixty yards. This mole may have served the double purpose of a bridge to the island, and to protect the strait on the northern side of it against the sea, by which means that strait may have served as a harbour to the town, although now shallow, and useless for such a purpose. Paláti received this modern name from a ruined temple which stood in the middle of it. The western portal, or doorcase, still stands as Tournefort and Choiseul Gouf-

fier have drawn it, and stands in spite of an attempt which was made (so say the Naxiotes) by the Scythian Alexis Orloff to beat it down with cannon-shot. The foundations of the temple have all been removed to serve for building materials, and it would seem from the excavation which remains, that the cella was about eighty feet in length. The door-case, and a small part of the pavement on which it stands, alone remain. The mouldings of the door seem to be of the Ionic order, and the massy proportions have an appearance of remote antiquity. It consists only of three stones; the uprights are 21 feet 6 inches high, and in thickness 4 feet 5 inches by 3 feet 5 inches; the width of the opening is 12 feet 1 inch. The rock of the island Paláti is grey granite, and so are the hills around the town of Naxía, as well as the highest summits and many other parts of the island, but there were likewise quarries in the island of white marble with a very large grain, of which the portal in Paláti is a specimen.

Naxía, or Axía, as it is more vulgarly called, contains 42 villages besides the city; 16000 of the natives are of the Greek and 350 of the Latin church. The latter live in the castle, and are almost all under French protection. They have a convent of Capuchins, another of Lazarists, which formerly belonged to the jesuits, and a Latin archbishop, who is metropolitan of all the Ægæan Sea. The town and neighbouring gardens are supplied with water from wells.

The island contains several fertile valleys, besides the plain near the town; the latter yields corn:

another which is separated from it by a range of rocky heights, and lies between them and the great central range of hills, is covered with olives. Thirty thousand Constantinopolitan kila of barley are exported, and a considerable quantity of wine, oil, honey, oranges, lemons, citrons, and emery, of which last there is a mine in Mount Zia, towards the southern end of the island.

At the northern end, near a cape called Apóllona [1], in an ancient quarry near the sea, is an unfinished colossal bearded statue, which, though the modern name of the cape would lead one to suppose it to have been intended for an Apollo, was more probably a bearded Bacchus, such as he is represented on some beautiful small brass coins, of which great numbers have lately been found at the town near the sea side. The principal mountain is called Zia, and has probably borne that name ever since the island was named Dia. Kórono, another mountain, recalls to recollection the nymph Coronis, who had care of the education of Bacchus. On one of the heights beyond the plain are some ruins, which some of the Naxiotes believe to be the ancient city; but the mole, the temple, and other remains, afford ample proof that the ancient capital of the island stood on the same spot as the modern town.

Oct. 17.—Sail at 10 A.M. for the Dhiles [2], with a fresh breeze from the south-west, which carries us over in three hours. On entering the strait between the two islands, the first object which

[1] στὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. [2] σταὶς Δήλαις.

presents itself is a heap of squared stones on the height in Great Dhili, or *Rheneia*, which forms the south-eastern cape of that island. There is no appearance of sculpture. We pass between the great Rematía, or Rematiári, anciently the island of Hecate, and proceed to anchor between the small Rematiári and *Delus*, the shore of which is strewed with broken columns and epistylia of marble, showing that notwithstanding the spoliation of Greek masons and makers of Turkish tombstones in the time of Tournefort and Stuart, this rich mine of antiquities is far from being exhausted, and probably still contains many rare productions of art, as well as inscriptions valuable to history and philology. Having landed, I visit in succession the several objects described by Spon, Wheler, and Tournefort: the stoa of Philip, the temple of Apollo, the oval basin, and the gymnasium. Besides these, of which there are still sufficient remains to leave no doubt of their identity, the Latoum and Heracleium, which are the only other monuments mentioned by the ancients, would probably be ascertained by a diligent search. The inscription on the altar of Mithradates Euergetes, half of which had disappeared between the time of Spon and that of Tournefort, is exactly as the latter found it[1]. That on the altar of Nicomedes I cannot find. The basis of

[1] It is unnecessary to refer more particularly to the inscriptions of Delus, as M. Boeckh has given a collection of all the known inscriptions of this island, illustrated with his usual learning and ability. —V. Corp. Inscr. Gr. part. 12.

the colossal Apollo dedicated by the Naxii, still remains. The words Ναξίοι Ἀπόλλωνι in front of the stone are in perfect preservation, although the form of the N and I, given accurately by Stuart, indicate considerable antiquity. The much more ancient line on the opposite side, which long ago exercised the learning of Dawes and Bentley, could hardly be decyphered without the assistance of the faithful copy in Stuart. The first letter has always been uncertain. The words, written in ordinary Hellenic characters, are as follows:

. Ο ΑϜΥΤΟ ΛΙΘΟ ΕΜΙ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΣΦΕΛΑΣ,

which in the cursive Greek, supplying the first letter, is

τοῦ αὐτοῦ λίθου εἰμὶ ἀνδριὰς καὶ τὸ σφέλας,

meaning that the basis and statue were both parts of the same mass. The stone, nevertheless, has a great square excavation in the centre, clearly showing that the statue which stood upon it, was a separate piece of stone. A passage in Plutarch's life of Nicias may perhaps furnish the solution of this difficulty. He relates that Nicias, having been appointed by the Athenians to conduct the Theoria to Delus, re-established the ancient ceremonies which had fallen into neglect; that he entered the island in procession from Rheneia over a bridge the materials of which he carried with him from Athens; that after having superintended the sacrifices, the games, and a feast, he made an endowment of some land for the support of an annual

sacrifice and supper, and finally, that he set up a brazen palm-tree as a dedication to Apollo[1]; which palm-tree, adds Plutarch, was afterwards thrown down by the wind, and in falling carried with it the colossal statue which had been dedicated by the Naxii. It is not improbable, therefore, that the more ancient inscription may have been coeval with the monolithal dedication, and the latter with a restoration of the statue after the accident. Of the thighs of the statue as designed by Tournefort, some fragments only remain; but a part of the shoulders, with the hair hanging over them, as Apollo is usually represented, is still conspicuous. The statue appears to have stood in front of the temple, facing the sea.

Not far from it are the remains of a portico of which the columns are three feet in diameter. These are of Parian marble. The stoa of Philip, and the colossus, seem to be of Naxian. Near the former portico are the remains of pilasters, of which the capitals represent bulls' heads in high relief, so as to include the dewlap. Behind the northern end of the portico of Philip are Ionic

to be the Limne Trochoeides of Herodotus and Theognis, and the Trochoessa of Callimachus, which contained the water required for the service of the ἱερὸν, or sacred inclosure of Apollo[1], such tanks having been customary and necessary for the sacred offices in places distant from rivers or springs. In Egypt there are remains of several, but none of them are, to my recollection, circular, like that which Herodotus states to have existed at Sais, and to which he compares the *limne* of Delus. There are some remains, however, of a κρηπὶς, or marginal wall, composed of small squared stones, in which particular this basin seems exactly to have resembled that of Sais. That the Trochoessa was circular or oval is sufficiently indicated by the name, and still more clearly perhaps by the epithet περιηγὴς, applied to it by Callimachus in the Hymn to Apollo[2]. Near it was an altar made of the horns

[1] ἐν Σαΐ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης . . . . . λίμνη τέ ἐστι ἐχομένη λιθίνῃ κρηπῖδι κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ κύκλῳ καὶ μέγαθος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκεε, ὅση περ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη. Herodot. l. 2, c. 170.

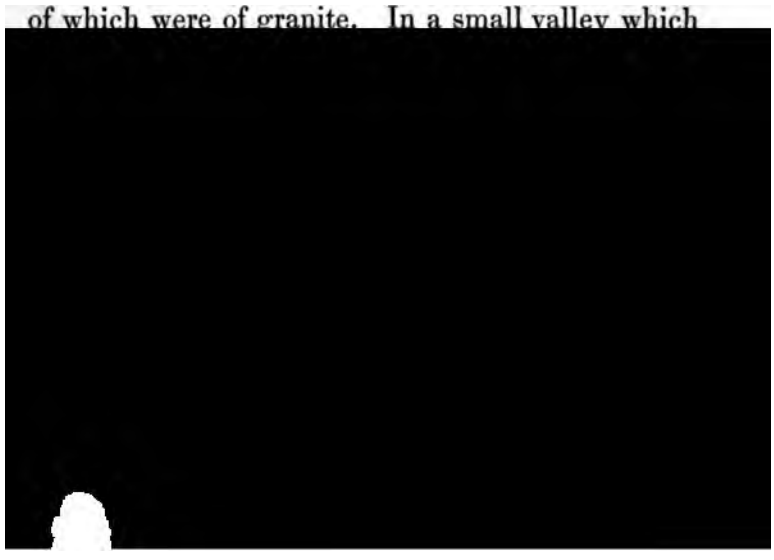
Φοῖβε ἄναξ ὅτε μέν σε θεὰ τέκε πότνια Λήτω
Φοινίκος ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη,
Ἀθανάτων κάλλιστον ἐπὶ τροχοειδέϊ λίμνῃ.
Theogn. v. 5.

Χρυσῷ δὲ τροχόεσσα πανήμερος ἔῤῥεε λίμνη.
Callim. Hymn in Del. v. 261.

[2] Καλῇ ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ περιηγέος ἐγγύθι λίμνης
Ἄρτεμις ἀγρώσσουσα καρήατα συννεχὲς αἰγῶν
Κυνθιάδων φορέεσκεν, ὁ δ' ἔπλεκε βωμὸν Ἀπόλλων.
Callim. Hymn in Apoll. v. 59.

of stags, which was said to have been constructed by Apollo himself, and was considered so admirable and sacred that a temple was built to inclose it ; some ruins which touch one side of the *Trochoessa* may perhaps be the remains of this temple ; for Callimachus places the altar near the Trochoessa, and Plutarch, who saw and admired it, describes it as being in the hierum of Apollo [1].

The theatre stood at the western foot of Mount Cynthus, facing Rheneia, and not far from the stoa of Philip. Its extremities were supported by walls of white marble of the finest masonry, but of a singular form, having had two projections adjacent to the orchestra, by which means the lower seats were in this part prolonged beyond the semicircle, and thus afforded additional accommodation to spectators in the situation most desirable. The diameter including only the projections is 187 feet. The marble seats have all been carried away, but many of the stones which formed their substruction remain. Immediately below the theatre, on the shore, are the ruins of a stoa, the columns of which were of granite. In a small valley which



son of Ctesippus of Chius [1]. Like many others, remaining both in this island and in *Rheneia*, it is adorned with bulls' heads and festoons. Another fragment of an inscription mentions Sarapis, and as both these were nearly in the same place where Spon and Wheler found another in which Isis, Anubis, Harpocrates and the Dioscuri were all named, it is very probable that the remains of white marble belonged to a temple of Isis. Among them is a portion of a large shaft pierced through the middle, 4 feet 5 inches in diameter, and there is another of the same kind 5 feet 8 inches in diameter, half way up the peak of *Cynthus*. The latter lies just below the *gate* represented in the drawing of Wheler. This structure, which bears an appearance of remote antiquity, was probably the entrance of a subterraneous chamber, perhaps the treasury of Delus, which may still exist, as the passage is buried in ruins to within a few feet of the roof, and is quite obstructed at the end of 15 feet. The roof is formed of two stones rudely shaped, and resting against each other at an angle so obtuse that the rise is only 4 feet 2 inches above a breadth of 16 feet 2 inches.

From this ruin, the ascent is short to the summit of Mount *Cynthus*, which is a mere rock of coarse granite, and seems anciently to have been inclosed by a wall. There are many architectural frag-

[1] Κτήσιππος Κτησίππου Χῖος, *μελανηφόρος*. The Melanephori and Therapeutæ are mentioned as priests of the Egyptian deities in other inscriptions of Delus. The Melanephori, it is to be supposed, were dressed in black.

ments of white marble on it. To the south of the mountain is a small plain, which seems the only cultivable part of the island. A brook from the mountain flows through it, and joins the sea at the port of Furni: being the only running stream in the island (and that only in winter) we may conclude that it is the ancient Inopus, unless we are to suppose, with Tournefort, that the Inopus was not a river but a well or fountain which exists near the northern extremity of the island. Callimachus, however, as well as Strabo, refers to Inopus as a river, and we may pardon the poet's exaggeration in applying to it the epithet of deep [1], when the geographer describes Cynthus as a high mountain[2]. Ruins of private houses surround Mount Cynthus on every side. On the heights above the *Trochoessa*, which form the north-western promontory of the island, are many other similar ruins of ancient houses, neatly constructed with mortar, and for the most part having niches in the walls. On the summit of the same hill, near the remains of a large house, are some shafts of white marble, a foot and

in a position called Olympieium[1], perhaps from a temple of Jupiter Olympius, to which the shafts just mentioned may have belonged. Each of these towns had its small theatre. The great theatre, forming part of the Hierum, was reserved perhaps for the periodical festivals, which attracted visitors from every part of Greece.

Oct. 18.—On the shore of *Rheneia*, on a small beach immediately opposite to the great Rematiári, the ground is covered on either side, for several hundred yards, with stelæ, sepulchres, lids of sori, and fragments of columns. To the south, not far from the beach, lies a piece of architrave, with a metope of 10 inches ; among the remains, in the opposite direction, are plain shafts, 3 ft. 4 in. in diameter. On the summit of a hill, which rises from the beach, are many other remains of ancient buildings, and among them a Doric capital, with a small portion of a shaft, 2 ft. 7 in. in diameter, formed out of a single stone. The immense number of sepulchres in this island is accounted for by its having been the cemetery of Delus, after the purification of the latter, which took place in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, when all the ancient coffins and bones were removed to Rheneia, and it was thenceforth forbidden, as in the Hierum of Epidauria, that any one should be born or die in the island of Delus[2]. Besides the sepulchral monuments, *Rheneia* contains many ruins of private houses, similar to those of *Delus*. The town extended to the north-eastern angle of the bay, in

[1] Phlegon ap. Stephan. in Ὀλυμπίειον. [2] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 104.

which direction among the ruins are seen a prodigious number of square altars, adorned with a few mouldings, sufficient apparently to have supplied each house or family in the island with one. *Rheneia* has some good pasture, and in many parts, especially about the ancient town, is capable of producing corn. It is about ten miles in circumference, divided in two by a narrow isthmus at the head of a great bay, on the north-western side of the ancient town. On the promontory which forms the northernmost point of this bay stands a small monastery and church, now abandoned, the island being inhabited only by two or three men, who tend some oxen, sheep, and goats belonging to people of Mýkono, of which island both the Dhiles are a dependency. In the smaller, which, according to Tournefort abounds in rabbits, I saw no quadruped but a hog, and I believe the only use which the Mykoniótes make of the island of Apollo is to pasture some of their cattle and sheep in the spring, and in the autumn to turn in their swine to gather the acorns, or other productions of the wild bushes.

From the strait of Dhiles, we cross over to the harbour of Mýkono, the entrance of which is distant about five miles from the little Dhili, and beating into the bay or gulf (κόρφος), as it is called, against a strong south-easter, anchor under the town at 10 A.M. This part of the bay is much exposed to the west, but round the town to the southward there is a harbour running far in to the east and south east, and sheltered from the west by a cape and island. Here ships winter in

perfect safety. The island of Mýkono[1] is for the most part a miserable rock, the only cultivated or cultivable ground being a few declivities round the town, where are some corn fields and vineyards. The rest affords pasture for a few flocks, but has no habitation except a monastery to the eastward. Nevertheless, the town is one of the largest and most prosperous in the *Ægæan* sea, in consequence of its maritime commerce. There are twenty-five ships belonging to the islanders, and a great number of boats. The population is reckoned at 6000 souls, the produce at 500 kila of wheat, which is not sufficient for a month, 10,000 kila of barley, which suffices for home consumption, 5000 barrels of wine in good years, of which about 1000 are exported, 400 kila of φασούλια, or kidney beans, and 200 kila of figs. Some of the houses and streets are better than in most of the islands, but in general they are equally mean and dirty, and the hogs as usual have undisturbed possession of them. My Corfiote boatmen hearing rumours of war between Turkey and Russia, begin to murmur at proceeding any further, so I dismiss them, hire a sakoléva of the place, and

Oct. 19, at 10 in the forenoon, sail from Mýkono with a fresh south-east wind. At noon we are becalmed, for a short time, under the northern extremity of Tino, a high bare mountain; from thence cross the bay, which is formed by Andhro and Tino, and at sunset pass the town of Andhro, which is situated near the sea, and is crowned

[1] Μύκωνος.

with a castle on the summit of a peak, about one-third of the length of the island from the northern cape. From hence we steer for Skyro, and at day-break

Oct. 20, find ourselves near the southern end of that island. Pass along the eastern side, leaving a little to the west of the southern cape the two islands which form the triple entrance of Port Τριπούχαις, a corruption of Tre Bocche [1]. Soon after sunrise the wind freshens, and as we pass along the coast, which is lofty, rocky, and precipitous, it increases to a gale, and descends from the hills in such squalls, that we fail in fetching Port Akhíli, and anchor in a dangerous situation to the eastward of the town of St. George, which covers the northern and western sides of a high rocky peak, which to the eastward falls steeply to the sea. Having landed in the surf with some difficulty, I walk up to the town, and send from thence a pilot to conduct the boat to Puriá, an anchorage for small vessels, five miles to the northward of port Akhíli, where an islet shelters a low point, terminating a plain which extends southward from thence as far as the heights of the town. This

[1] This harbour, in which I afterwards anchored in one of His Majesty's ships, is situated at the foot of the highest mountain in Skyro, and is surrounded by desert woody hills. The entrance at either end is about one-third of a mile in breadth. The third entrance between the two islands is narrower. All are safe and deep: in the middle of the harbour there is a depth of twenty fathoms; behind the small island, seven fathoms. There is no source of fresh water, useful to shipping, nearer than the great harbour of Kalamítza, six or seven miles to the northward.

plain, which is about four square miles in extent, is grown with corn, vines, and figs, and is refreshed by a small perennial stream, watering many gardens, as well in the plain, as in a little valley above it, where the oaks and planes, the walnut and other fruit trees, which shade the banks of the stream, give this little district an appearance very different from that of the dry and naked *Cyclades*. Akhíli, the harbour which lies south-east of St. George, is evidently an ancient name, properly Ἀχίλλειον, and a memorial of Achilles.

Skyro is divided into two parts, nearly equal, by an isthmus, which lies between Port Akhíli and the great harbour called by the Greeks Kalamítza, and by the Italians Gran Spiaggia. All the southern portion is uncultivated, and consists of high mountains, which are intersected by deep gullies, and are rugged and bare, except towards the summits, where they are clothed with oaks, firs, and beeches. The northern part of the island is not so mountainous: and all the hills bear corn, vines, and ῥιζάρι, or madder; besides the plain adjacent to the khora or town, there are two other fertile levels, one at the northern extremity of the island, and another at Kalamítza. The wheat of Skyro is equal to the best in the *Ægæan*. The productions are 10,000 barrels of wine when the vintage is good, of which three fourths are exported, 15,000 kila of corn, of which 2,000 are exported, and 500 kantárs of fasúlia. The other exports are 2,000 okes of wax, 8,000 okes of honey, 600,000 oranges and lemons, and 400 kantárs of madder, which is cultivated only upon very steep

ground, and is grown from the seed, which is sown in February. The island abounds in sources of water, and affords pasture to a few oxen, and to 15,000 head of sheep and goats, of which 2,000 are annually exported. The taxes amount to 20 purses a year, paid by 500 families, all of whom have dwellings in St. George, the only other village in the island being merely an occasional residence of those who take care of the cattle. There are three kaiks belonging to the island, and many feluccas are built for sale with the fir wood of the mountains. The oaks are used only for fuel, and though many of them are of the Velanídhi kind, no use is made of the acorn.

On the table summit of the rock which crowns the town, are the ruins of a castle, inclosing many houses, which are now all abandoned except the bishop's, and some store houses where the rich inhabitants place their valuable effects whenever they are in danger from pirates or lawless Turkish seamen. The castle was the site of the acropolis of the ancient city of Scyrus, justly described by

large semicircular bastion almost entire, and built of horizontal courses of masonry which diminish in the height of each course towards the top. From thence the wall is traced along the slope above the sea, as far as a round tower which is still standing to half its height : about fifty yards beyond it are the remains of another, and from each of them a wall is traceable down the slope as far as the cliffs which overhang the sea. These walls were between three and four hundred yards in length, and served, like the long walls of other maritime cities, to protect the communication between the city and the shore, which was probably sheltered by a mole. Not a trace of it however now exists, which is not surprising as all this rocky coast is much exposed to the easterly winds. At the southernmost round tower the city terminated in that direction, as appears by the remains of the town walls which from thence ascend to the precipice of the castle. The circumference was barely two miles. The only other objects of antiquity are a sepulchral stone in one of the churches, and a cornice of dentils in a chapel in the gardens. Nor can I hear of the existence of any other remains in the island, except those of a large arched cistern at Kalamítza.

The houses of Skyro, though flat roofed like those of the *Cyclades*, are in other respects very differently built, being generally of two stories, of which the lower is formed of stone and the upper of wood. The latter has projections on the outside in the Turkish fashion ; the terraces of the roofs are covered with a peculiar kind of earth found on

the descent towards the plain, and which is said to possess the property of resisting the most continued rain. In form the apartments resemble those of Turkish houses; but round the floor are arranged boxes of antique shape, covered with gilding and other ornamental work, and the walls are hung as thickly as it is possible to cover them with earthen jars and pots, pewter plates and dishes, merely for the sake of decoration, being in far too great a number to be of any use. The houses of the richer natives exceed the others in the dimensions of their apartments, and in the quantity of their vases and plates, but not in the quality, which is all German of the coarsest kind. In one angle of the room there is generally a very wide chimney rounding into the room, and below it a hearth a few inches above the level of the floor. This kind of chimney is also peculiar to Skyro, unless it may be found at Lemno or Thaso, the only larger islands of the *Ægæan* which I have not visited. The women, unlike those of the other islands, live quite retired in the houses, and hide themselves on the approach of a stranger.

which, according to Strabo, large quantities were sent from Scyrus to Rome. The island was famous also for its breed of goats[1].

Oct. 21.—The gale not abating, I am detained in the catacomb until the evening, when it moderates; at 10.30 P.M. we sail, and

Oct. 22, at sunrise, find ourselves near Skánghero[2]. This is probably an ancient name. Of the islands which lie between Skánghero and the Cape of *Magnesia*, Scopelus and Sciathus preserve their names unchanged[3]. Scopelus I take to be

[1] Strabo, p. 437.

[2] Σκάγγερος. Sometimes written Σκάντζουρα.

[3] Σκόπελος, Σκίαθος, or vulgarly Σκιάθο. Skópelo is one of the most flourishing islands of the *Ægæan*, for which it is indebted to its wines, sent by the people in their own ships to the Black Sea, and many parts of the Levant; oranges, lemons, and some other fruits are also exported. The town, which is on the eastern side of the island, contains about 1200 houses, and has a striking appearance in sailing through the channel of Khilidhrómia. It is the residence of the bishop of Sciathus and Scopelus. On the western coast are the village of Glossa and the harbour of Pánormo. The island abounds in sources, which encourage the growth of fruit-trees, and enable the inhabitants to raise a sufficiency of the necessaries of life for their consumption, with the exception of bread corn.

Skiátho, like Skyro has a harbour to the southward sheltered by an island. The port is called Oreókastro, and seems to have been the site of an ancient town, but not of the homonymous capital of the island, which was situated at the village, still called Skiátho, on a rock over the northern extremity of the island, as appears from the following inscription existing there:

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Τὸν μέγιστον καὶ θειότατον αὐτοκράτορα Λούκιον Σεπτίμιον Σενῆρον Περτίνακα Σεβαστὸν, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σκιαθίων, ἐπιμελησαμένου Πιστοῦ τοῦ Ὑακίνθου. Ἄνθης ἦρξεν τῆς ἐπωνύμου ἀρχῆς.

the same island as Halonesus, celebrated by means of one of the orations of Demosthenes, for Strabo, who takes no notice of Scopelus, shows Halonesus to have been one of the principal islands on the Magnesian coast [1], and names it together with Sciathus and Peparethus, the same two islands which Ptolemy about two centuries afterwards, and still later Hierocles, associate with Scopelus without naming Halonesus [2]. In this case Peparethus, the importance of which may be argued as well from its history [3] as from its name Tripolis [4], and its existing coins, was probably Khilidhrómia [5], an island of about the same size as Skópelo, and which, although now little inhabited or cultivated, produces wine, which finds a good market at Saloníki. Peparethus in like manner was particularly noted for its wine [6]. Sarakíno is probably the ancient Icus, which, according to Scymnus of Chius, was near Peparethus, and was colonized at the same time by the Cnossii of Crete [7]. Livy relates, that when the fleet of Attalus in the Macedonic war (B. C. 200) made a tour in the Ægæan, chiefly it would seem

in Eubœa was past Skyrus to Icus, where they were detained by the north wind; they then sailed to Sciathus, and from thence to Mende in Pallene[1]. Pelaghísi[2], which is opposite to the northern end of Khilidhrómia, may perhaps be the Polyægus which Mela mentions in conjunction with Sciathus and Halonesus[3].

Our course carries us not far to the westward of Aistráti[4], which has about 30 houses, and is inhabited by cultivators and a few sailors, of whom we took two on board at Skyro. The island is low and has no port. It corresponds to the *Hiera* or *Nea*, near *Lemnus*, in which Philoctetes was said to have been bitten by the serpent, and which received its name from the circumstance, that when Chryse had been swallowed up by the sea, this island was reported to have made its appearance soon afterwards in a different situation[5]. Pliny indeed describes Nea as being between Lemnus and the Hellespont[6], but as there are shoals only in that situation, they would rather seem to be the remains of *Chryse*.

[1] Liv. l. 31, c. 45.

[2] Πελαγήσι.

[3] Mela, l. 2, c. 7.

[4] Ἀγιστράτης, which Meletius seems to suppose a corruption of Ἀρχιστράτηγος.

[5] Pausan. Arcad. c. 33.—Antigon. Caryst. c. 9.—Stephan. and Suid. in Νέαι.

[6] Plin. H. N. l. 2, c. 87.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MACEDONIA.

Monasteries near the southern extremity of Athos—Arrival at Xeropotámi—Other monasteries on the southern side of the Peninsula—Town of Karyés—Ivíron—Filótheo—Mylopótamo—Lavra—Karakálo—Stavronikíta—Pandokrátora—Vatopédhi—Ancient Inscriptions—Siménu—Khilandári—Próvlaka—*Isthmus of Acte*—*Sane*—*Canal of Xerxes*—Erissó, *Acanthus*—Ancient cities of *Acte*, *Sithonia*, and *Pallene*.

Oct. 22, continued.—We now stand over to Mount Athos, which appears very near, though still 40 miles distant; the wind blowing down the gulf of Saloníki will but just allow us to lay our course, and it is not until sunset we are abreast of Cape St. George, anciently called Nymphæum[1], from whence Mount Athos rises abruptly to the very summit. A strong current setting out of the *Singitic* gulf is a further impediment. The first monastery that appears is Aghía Anna, surrounded by many small houses, and situated in a beautiful hollow of the rocks at some distance above the sea,

[1] εἶτα Δέῤῥις· εἶτα Νύμφαιον ἐν τῷ Ἄθωνι πρὸς τῷ Σιγγιτικῷ· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῷ Στρυμονικῷ Ἀκράθως ἄκρον· ὧν μεταξὺ ὁ Ἄθων. —Strabon. Epit. l. 7, p. 330.

Ἄθωσα ἄκρον καὶ πόλις—τὸ μέσον τοῦ ὄρους—Νύμφαιον ἄκρον.—Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.

just such a place as we may suppose to have been a *Nymphæum*. St. Anna is not considered one of the twenty monasteries of Athos, but only a μονίδιον and an ἀσκητήριον, that is to say, a subordinate monastery and place of ascetic retreat, dependent upon Lavra, which possesses all this end of the peninsula. The houses around the monastery of St. Anne, called cells (κελλεῖα), are inhabited by ascetics chiefly employed in handicrafts. St. Anna was greatly augmented by a patriarch of Constantinople, a native of the isle of Andhro, who improved the roads around it, and built many cells, towers, and chapels, as well here as at Lavra, Ivíron, and in other parts of the 'Aion Oros[1], or holy mountain, which name is not confined to Mount Athos, but comprehends the entire peninsula, anciently called Acte. The church of Ai Anna is noted for possessing the left foot of the saint, a most miraculous and odoriferous relic[2]. We afterwards pass in succession St. Paul, St. Dionysius, and St. Gregory, all near the shore, and all situated under the great ridge which advances from the peak of Athos and extends to the isthmus of the Holy Peninsula. St. Paul is a monastery of Servians and Bulgarians, and is said to take its name from the founder, who was an eunuch, son of the emperor Maurice. The church was constructed at the expence of a lord of Semen-

[1] τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος.

[2] λείψανον πανθαύμαστον καὶ εὐῶδες. Προσκυνητάριον τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους. Venetiis, 1745, p. 12. The original work by John Comnenus was published in 1701, and was reprinted by Montfaucon in his Palæographia.

dra in Servia, but the towers, cells, and all the more modern parts, by one of the family of Vassaráva, Waiwode of Wallachia. St. Dionysius was built in the year 1380, by Alexius Comnenus, king of Trapezus, in honour of a saint of Koryssó, near Kastoría, who was brother of the bishop of Trapezus, and became a hermit in this place. The Waiwodes of Wallachia and their families have greatly contributed to the buildings of this monastery, which is rich in relics, such as a piece of the cross, the crania of St. John the Baptist and of St. Thomais, the lower jaw of St. Stephen, and a part of the hand of St. John Chrysostom. The monastery of St. Gregory was named after the founder, St. Gregory the younger, but the present building was erected by a hospodár of Moldavia. Next to St. Gregory, at a distance of two miles from the sea-coast, is Simópetra, situated on a lofty precipitous rock in the midst of the forest. Its name, properly ἡ Σίμωνος Πέτρα, or the rock of Simon, is derived from a hermit of that name who founded the church, but the present building was chiefly the work of John Ungles, king of Servia and Romania, who retired hither from his kingdom and became a monk. This monastery possesses the right hand of St. Mary Magdalen, entire, and diffusing in abundance an agreeable odour[1].

At 10 P.M. we arrive at Xeropotámi, the only good anchorage on the southern side of the peninsula, and so called from a torrent which here flows

[1] πολλὴν καὶ πάντερπνον εὐωδίαν ἐκπέμπον.—Προσκυνητάριον, p. 80.

from Mount Athos into the sea. A little above it is the monastery of the Forty Saints[1], more commonly known as that of Xiropotámu[2], or the dry river.

Oct. 23.—This building was founded by the Emperor Romanus, and is one of the largest on the mountain. It is an irregular quadrangle, flanked by towers having pointed roofs covered with lead, in the style of the Heptapyrgium, or Seven Towers of Constantinople, and other works of that time. Within, in the midst of the inclosed court, stands the church; in many parts of the building wooden kiosks project from the walls, which are posterior additions. The monastery was once abandoned in consequence of the attacks of pirates, but was afterwards restored and enlarged by a hospodár of Wallachia. Like the other religious establishments of the peninsula, it possesses some much esteemed relics, such as a piece of the cross, and various fragments of the Forty Martyrs, to whom it is dedicated. In one part of the interior of the quadrangle two ancient sculptures in low relief are inserted in the wall, one representing a woman seated in an antique chair, with a table before her and a mirror behind the chair; the other seems to have been part of a frize representing wrestlers, but being high in the wall, and in a corner difficult of access, there is some difficulty in distinguishing the figures. The walls are in part constructed of Roman tiles, and contain many small fragments of antiquity besides

[1] τῶν Ἁγίων Σαράντα. [2] Ξηροποτάμου.

those already noticed. At the harbour I observed an ancient altar or pedestal on the beach, and two or three granite columns in the adjoining valley. These remains, together with the convenience of the anchorage, warrant the belief that here stood one of the ancient cities of Acte. The port or landing-place is known by the name of ὁ Ἀρσανᾶς, or the Arsenal, whence it may be inferred that some buildings once existed there, for purposes of naval commerce and defence. All the larger monasteries are said to have had similar establishments on the adjoining shore, where small vessels were formerly built; they were fortified with walls and towers, some of which still remain, but at present the peninsula possesses only a few fishing boats, or such as serve for communication along the shore in fine weather, and which chiefly belong to the monasteries on the northern coast.

The situation of the Forty Saints is extremely beautiful. Hills covered with a thick forest of oak, beech, and chestnut, in which are intervals cultivated with the vine and olive, surround it towards the land, while in front it commands a noble view of the *Singitic* Gulf, bounded by the peninsula of *Sithonia*, above which rises Mount *Olympus*. This peninsula is now called Longos, from its being principally a forest. The only inhabited places in it are Sykiá, in a good harbour on the eastern side towards the southern extremity, another small village or two, and three Ἁγιορίτικα μετόχια, or farms, belonging to monasteries of Athos, cultivated by the Caloyers, who have a church and dwellings at each metókhi. Longos

does not possess such good timber as the Aion Oros, and is not so well watered, but affords excellent pasture for cattle and for bees, which are carried over in the spring from the Oros to swarm and make honey. The extreme cape seen from Xeropotámi is named Kartáli, it is situated five miles beyond port Sykiá, and hides another cape called Dhrépano at the entrance of the Gulf of Kassándhra: a little to the north of which is Kufó, a land-locked harbour, and then the ruins of *Torone*, still preserving the ancient name. Kufó also is ancient, being the ordinary Romaic form of Κωφὸς (deaf), which gave rise to the Greek proverb κωφότερος τοῦ Τορωναίου λιμένος, the harbour having been so called, according to Zenobius, because, being separated from the outer sea by two narrow passages, the noise of the waves was not heard in it[1]. It was perhaps the same mentioned by Thucydides as the harbour of the Colophonii[2]. Capes Kartáli and Dhrépano are evidently the ancient Derrhis and Ampelus. The latter is shown to be the nearer to Torone by Herodotus, who describes it as the Toronæan promontory, and as opposite to Canastræum of Pallene[3]. The epitomizer of Strabo might indeed

[1] Strabo, p. 330. Mela, l. 2, c. 3.—Zenob. Prov. Græc. cent. 4, pr. 68.

[2] Κατέπλευσεν ἐς τὸν Κολοφωνίων λιμένα, τῶν Τορωναίων ἀπέχοντα οὐ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως. —Thucyd. l. 5, c. 2. Ought we not to read Κωφῶν instead of Κολοφωνίων?

[3] Ἄμπελον, τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην.—Herod. l. 7, c. 122. Stephanus in Ἄμπελος has probably only followed Herodotus in his remark, ἔστι καὶ ἄκρα Τορωναίων, Ἄμπελος λεγομένη.

induce the belief, that Derrhis and Ampelus were the same, since he describes Derrhis as a promontory opposite to Canastrum and near port Cophus; but Ptolemy expressly distinguishes them, though he is opposed both to other authorities and to actual appearances in placing Torone between the two capes [1].

Besides the monasteries of the western side of the peninsula of Aion Oros already mentioned, there are five others to the northward of Xeropotámi. Their names and order are Rússiko, Xenófu, Dhokiaríu, Kastamonítu, and Zográfu [2]. Rússikon is a monastery of Russians, situated on an elevated well-watered level just above the sea. It was founded by a Knez of Servia named Lazarus, who retired here and became a monk. Xenófu is near the sea, and well fortified against pirates. Its name is derived from Saint Xenophon the founder, but the chief constructors of the present building were several Wallachians, one of whom was a hospodár of the family of Vassaráva. It is inhabited by Servians and Bulgarians. Beyond it is Dhokiaríu, which was founded by a Saint Euthymius, in

renewed and augmented by Manuel Palæologus is better authenticated. Zográfu is a convent of Servians and Bulgarians, founded in the reign of the emperor Leo, the philosopher, by three brothers of 'Akhridha, of the family of the emperor Justinian, who became monks here. It is noted for two wonderful pictures of St. George, one of which conveyed itself without human means from Palestine, the other from Arabia: the former is said also to have been painted by Divine will, and not by the hands of men[1], whence the monastery was called Ζωγράφου, or that of the painter.

Oct. 24.—From Xeropotámi to Karés, or Karyés[2], a beautiful ride of an hour and a half across the ridge of the peninsula, leaving the 'Athona, as the peak of Athos is called[3], five miles in a direct line on the right: the ridge branches immediately from the foot of the great peak, and descends steeply to a high point above Ivíron, from whence the fall is more gradual to the line of our road to Karyés, where the ridge is lower than on either side of that line. The great peak by its height, its abruptness, and conical form, crowns the landscape in the most imposing manner, and consisting towards the summit of a white rock broken with precipices, offers a striking contrast to the rich unbroken forests of the lower ridge. We pass through woods of oak and chestnut, in the thickest parts of which are openings where verdant lawns covered with cattle, or slopes cultivated with vines, are in-

[1] ἀχειροποίητος. [2] Καραῖς, Καρυαίς. [3] στὸν Ἄθωνα.

terspersed with καλλύα, or cottages, inhabited by monks who have charge of the vineyards, or cattle. In the highest part of the ridge the wood is entirely of chestnut. As we descend the northern or eastern slope, the town of Karyés presents itself, covering a large space in the midst of woody declivities, where the houses are dispersed among gardens and vineyards. Immediately around the town the most common tree is the λεπτοκαρυά, or hazel, from which the town has perhaps taken its name: the trees are cultivated for the sake of the nuts, which, with planks of deal and scantlings of oak or chestnut, are the only productions of the soil exported from the peninsula.

At Karyés resides the Turkish governor of the Holy Mountain: a bostanjí of Constantinople, who is supported, together with a guard of Albanians, at the expence of the holy community; but without having any authority except for the general police of the mountain, and for its protection against thieves and pirates. Towards the centre of the town the houses are more closely built, and there is a sort of bazár containing shops of grocery, with those of a few artisans, among whom blacksmiths and locksmiths are the most numerous. On Saturdays there is an ἀγορά, or market, to which the manufactures of the mountain are brought for sale. Karyés is the residence also of the Archons or Epistatæ[1]. These are Caloyers deputed from the twenty monasteries to superintend the civil

[1] οἱ Ἄρχοντες ἢ Ἐπιστάται τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους.

affairs of the mountain, to take cognizance of any matters in which the whole community is interested, to assign to each monastery its portion of the payments to the Turks, and to enforce the collection of it. The revenue and internal government of each convent is its own concern. The Epistatæ are four in number, and are changed every year; each monastery sending one deputy in its turn, but in such manner that one of the four is always from one of the five great monasteries, Lavra, Vatopédhi, Ivíron, Khilandári, and Dhionysíu. Besides these principal officers the community have an agent at Saloníki and another at Constantinople. Ecclesiastically the Oros depends immediately on the patriarch of Constantinople. The archons are competent to punish small offences, and to determine such differences between the monasteries as are not sufficiently important to be decided at Constantinople, where, however, the monks are too apt to carry their causes and to spend money in litigation for the benefit only of the Turks. In the time of the Greek Empire the mountain was under the direction of a great ecclesiastic styled ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους, whence the name Protáto still attached to the church at Karyés where he resided. This church is supposed to be the most ancient on the peninsula, and to have been built by Constantine the Great. It is celebrated on the mountain for a miraculous picture which once called out[1] to the officiating priest to read his liturgy quicker, in order that he

[1] ἐφώνησε.

might administer the communion to a dying monk. Near Karyés to the southward is Kutlumúsi[1], situated in one of the most cultivable parts of the peninsula, amidst gardens, vineyards, olive plantations, and corn-fields. It was founded by the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, but partook of the fate of all the early buildings in being destroyed by plunderers. It was afterwards renewed and enlarged by several successive Waiwodes of Wallachia. Kutlumúsi boasts of possessing the *other* foot of St. Anne among its relics. Like the other monasteries it has a port, which is below Karyés, not far to the north-west of the Arsanás of Ivíron.

After dining at Karyés, I proceed in two hours to Ivíron, situated near the northern shore of the peninsula, in a small bend of the coast, midway between the other two principal monasteries of this shore, Lavra and Vatopédhi. The road descends the hills obliquely by a rugged path through vineyards, and amidst a great diversity of hilly ground covered with wood. Ivíron, or the monastery of the Georgians, (τῶν Ἰβήρων,) was so called as having been founded by four pious and wealthy men of that nation, of whom three were brothers, and the fourth was Tornicius, a general officer of the Emperor Romanus, who, having been recalled from his retreat by the widow of Romanus, to defend the frontiers of the empire against the Persians, received from the empress, on his successful return to Constantinople, the means of building

[1] Κουτλουμούση.

the present church, which is the largest on the peninsula next to that of Lavra. It stands in the midst of an irregular quadrangle, comprehending also a church of the Panaghía surnamed Portaítissa. This church is renowned for a picture which was thrown into the sea in the reign of the iconoclast Theophilus, and some years afterwards made its appearance again on the neighbouring shore. Besides several valuable Metókhia in the adjacent parts of Macedonia, it has a large dependent monastery at Moscow, and another in Wallachia, and it has always been the favourite and most protected monastery of the Russians. No convent on the Oros is so rich in relics. There are 300 monks belonging to the house, but a third of them are either absent on eleemosynary missions, or dwelling on the metókhia and kellía of the monastery. The library, which is kept in tolerable order by an old Didascalus, consists chiefly, as he observes, of the fathers, or books appertaining to the church service [1]; but it contains also several Greek and Latin classics, a recent gift of a Mavromáti of Arta, who was bishop of that see, and whose nephew I met there last year. None of the Latin books have been touched, because nobody can read them: indeed, the whole library is nearly useless, such is the extreme ignorance of the monks. The house has the reputation of being the best ordered on the mountain. Like all the monasteries, or at least the larger, Ivíron has an hospital for the sick, presses for wine and oil,

[1] πατερικὰ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ βιβλία.

and among the monks some tailors and shoemakers, who make all the clothes of the inmates. It is often the residence of retired Greeks. The Patriarch of Constantinople, who was deposed eight years ago, and who has lived here ever since, has just been recalled to the capital, on the change of the Turkish ministry to resume the patriarchal throne.

Oct. 25.—In the afternoon I proceed to the convent of Filothéu, in the way to Lavra: the road follows the slope of the mountain through a thick forest of chestnuts, oaks, and elms, mixed with a great variety of shrubs, particularly the arbutus, now covered with ripe fruit. The oaks are small, but many of the chestnuts are fine trees: a small portion of the fruit is consumed on the mountain, or exported in the boats which come to load firewood; the remainder perishes on the ground, or is washed into the sea by the torrents. The monasteries levy a small contribution upon the woodcutters.

In a green valley near the sea, between Ivíron and Filothéu, stand the ruined monídhi, or subor-

was enlarged by a prince of Kakét in Georgia in 1492.

Oct. 26.—Being detained at Filothéu by a violent gale of wind from the north, I look over the books of the monastery, which are laid aside as useless lumber in a corner above the church, more for amusement than with the hope of finding anything valuable, as they have been lately examined by much more competent persons [1]. Among them are a few fragments of MSS. of the classics, but the far greater part are volumes of the Fathers of the Church, which are all in good condition on handsome parchment. In the afternoon I return on foot to Ivíron, disappointed to find that the season for ascending the 'Athona is considered to be past. But when the autumnal tempests have begun in this the stormiest quarter of a sea in all parts fickle and subject to gales, weeks may pass away before such a day occurs as would secure a perfect view of distant objects from the summit. The

[1] See the interesting narrative of the tour of Dr. Hunt and Mr. Carlyle in Mount Athos, in the Rev. R. Walpole's collection of Memoirs, p. 198. The following was the result of Mr. Carlyle's examination of the libraries of Athos, where he inspected near 13,000 MSS. He found one copy of the Iliad and another of the Odyssey; a few of the edited plays of the tragedians; copies of Pindar and Hesiod; the orations of Demosthenes and Æschines; parts of Aristotle, and copies of Philo and Josephus: several MSS. of the New Testament, but none so old as the Alexandrian MS., or that of Beza; two copies of parts of the Septuagint; and several beautiful MSS. of the Greek fathers, with a prodigious quantity of polemical divinity; Lives of the Saints; and treatises on the doctrines or offices of the Greek Church.

monks are in the habit of repeating that Constantinople may be seen from thence, but this is undoubtedly a vulgar error; for though very high land might in a peculiarly favourable state of the atmosphere be visible at the distance of Constantinople, so low a situation as that of the capital cannot possibly be above the horizon. But undoubtedly with a clear sky the angular intervals might be measured from thence between many of the most remarkable points of Asia, the islands, and Greece. The principal Macedonian and Thracian summits, Mount Ida, the islands Lemnus and Scyrus, the Eubœan mountains Ocha, Dirphe, and Telethrium, and the Thessalian summits Othrys, Pelion, and Ossa, might all be connected by the sextant, and possibly the Bithynian with the Macedonian Olympus.

The ordinary route from Filothéu to Lavra is by land to Karakálo, and by sea from the port of the latter to the Arsaná of Lavra, the route by land being a rugged path, best travelled on foot.

The monastery Lavra[1], originally the retreat of

ancient Acrathos, now Kavo Zmyrna. At a small harbour below it is the Arsanás, and a tower for its protection. The monastery generally contains 200 caloyers, besides whom there are as many more travelling to collect charity, or in the cells and hermitages of the mountain, employed in handicrafts, or in taking care of the vineyards and olive plantations. Besides these there is a great number of κοσμικοὶ, or laymen. The objects for which Lavra is most celebrated among the Greeks are its refectory in the form of a cross, containing 24 marble tables, a great vase of marble and bronze adorned with figures, 6 palms high and 17 in circumference, into which a perpetual stream of water is conveyed by a canal; the tomb and iron staff of the founder Athanasius, with which he drove away the demons[1], and many holy relics, among which are the crania of several saints, the hand of St. Chrysostom, and the foot of St. Cerycus, who died a martyr at three years of age. Midway between Lavra and its askíti of St. Anna is another named Kapsokalývia[2], similarly placed at the foot of the peak of Athos above the sea, and where is a church with numerous ascetic cells. Kerasía, St. Antony, St. Demetrius, and St. Paul, are similar dependencies, but not so large; at the two latter are the principal vineyards of Lavra. In the territory of this monastery, which comprehends the entire peak of Athos, are more than 20 solitary chapels, one of which is on the summit, and in all the paths about

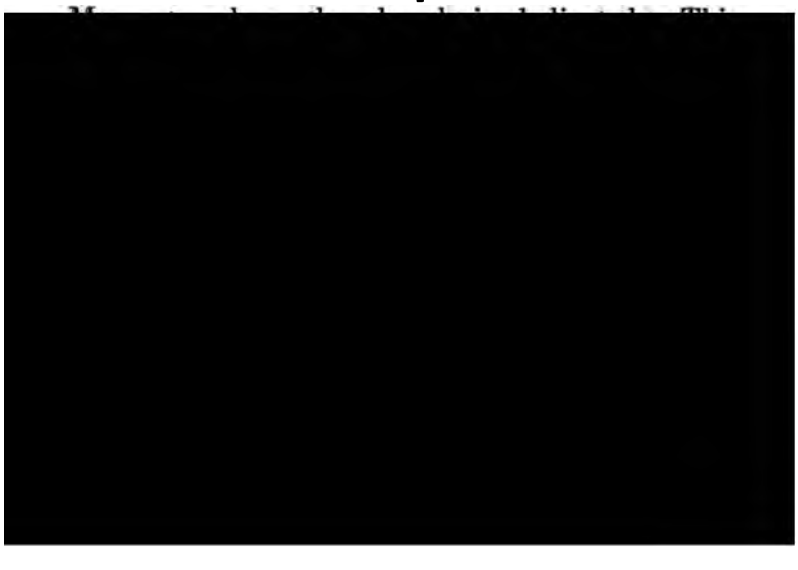
[1] ἐξέωκε τὰ δαιμόνια.

[2] Καψοκαλύβια, Κανσοκαλύβια.

the mountain there are seats for resting[1]. The monastery of Karakálo received its name from the founder, Antonio Caracalo, a Roman, but the principal part of the present structure was built at the expence of a hospodár of Moldavia.

Oct. 27.—The stormy weather still continues. At a kellí above Ivíron I find some monks employed in building a boat on the side of the mountain, a mile from the sea, and learn from them that boats are sometimes built in much higher situations, as they find it easier to convey the boat to the sea side than the timber for building it.

Oct. 28.—From Ivíron to Vatopédhi in three hours: first crossing a projection of the mountain, on which to the right stands the monastery of Stavronikíta[2], and then descending to Pandokrátora[3], which is midway to Vatopédhi. Stavronikíta was founded by a Patriarch of Constantinople named Jeremiah. It is agreeably situated just above the shore, in the midst of gardens and orange groves, and contains a celebrated picture of St. Nicolas of



Michael Palæologus, who recovered Constantinople from the Franks. On a summit to the left is St. Elias, a large askitíri, occupied entirely by Russians.

From Pandokrátora we cross another ridge, passing constantly through woods to Vatopédhi [1]. This monastery, which, with its lofty walls flanked by towers mounted with cannon, looks more like a fortress than a religious house, is beautifully situated on a commanding height, separated from the shore of a little bay by slopes covered with plantations of olives and oranges. The bay is the termination of a small valley, surrounded by steep woody heights, and watered by a torrent. These heights are separated by the vale of Karyés from the hills which lie between the latter and Xeropotámi, so that the longitudinal ridge of the peninsula here becomes double. Vatopédhi is larger than any of the monasteries except Lavra, and is the most ancient of all, its first foundation having been by Constantine the Great. It was augmented by Arcadius, and after having been ruined by the Saracens in the 9th century, was renewed by three citizens of Adrianople, who here adopted the monastic life. Its principal benefactors after that time, were Manuel Comnenus, Andronicus Palæologus, and John Cantacuzenus, the last of whom, under the name of Ioasaph, passed a great part of his days here after his retirement from the throne. No monastery has larger possessions of olive plantations, vineyards, and foreign metókhia, the best

[1] Βατοπέδιον.

of which are in Moldavia, and none is better provided with all sorts of internal conveniences. The treasury nevertheless is now poor, in consequence of a cause which the monastery has lately gained against Zográfu, concerning the property of a metókhi, and in which they prevailed, not so much by the evidence of their ancient charters, as by the expenditure of 200 purses at Constantinople; the Grand Vezír, before whom the cause was heard, took occasion at the conclusion to give the parties a good lecture on their folly. The ordinary annual expences of the house are 200 purses, including all the imposts which they pay to the Turks. Three hundred monks are attached to the establishment, but more than half of them are absent in the Metókhia or in eleemosynary missions; besides these, are a great number of cosmics, both in the house and the kellía. The affairs of the monastery are directed by twelve ἡγούμενοι, among whom the chief dignities are the σκευοφύλακας or sacristan, the ἐπίτροπος or inspector, the δικαῖος, who has the care of the stores, mules and lodgings, and the γραμματικὸς or secretary. One of the oldest residents, but who

tiful scenery, and seclusion, seem to promise in Mount Athos, as a place of education, the friends of learning among the Greeks have been compelled to apply their exertions elsewhere. The ignorant are generally persecutors of knowledge: the school was viewed with jealous eyes by all the vulgar herd of caloyers, and there were other objections to the Holy Peninsula which, combined with the former, proved at last the ruin of the school.

The monks at the head of the monasteries of Mount Athos are generally those who have brought some money to the treasury; sometimes those who have travelled to collect charity, and who, by retaining a part of the produce, acquire thereby the means of influencing the Patriarch, who has always some weight in the election of the Igúmeni, though nominally they are annually elective, wherever the monks are ἰδιόῤῥιθμοι, as they are at Vatopédhi, and in the greater part of the monasteries of the Oros. When so denominated, they contribute something to the treasury on entering the society, receive a cell and a ration of bread and wine, but provide every thing else themselves. The κοινοβιακοὶ, on the other hand, are headed by a single ἡγούμενος, appointed by the Patriarch. They dress and live uniformly, receive raiment as well as food from the house, and are in every thing more despotically governed. Seven only of the twenty monasteries of the Oros are κοινόβια, namely, Karakálo and Siménu, on the northern coast, and on the southern, Dhionysíu, Simópetra, Russikó, Xenófu, and Konstamonítu. The monks are of three degrees of rank, δόκιμοι, in a state of probation, σταυροφόροι, bearing the

sign of the cross, and τὸ μέγα σχῆμα, or the highest rank. When the κελλεία, or detached houses, are in small clusters, the monks and laics who inhabit them are under an elder of the parent monastery, but many of these cells are solitary cottages occupied by hermits[1]. There are more than 300 scattered kellía on the mountain. The κελλειώται are either cultivators of vineyards, gardens, or corn-fields[2], of which latter however there are very few, or they tend the bees[3] and cattle[4] of the peninsula. Some of the inmates of all the monasteries are employed in spinning wool and making articles of clothing, generally those confined to the house by incapacity for out door employment, but the manufactures are chiefly carried on in the retreats called ἀσκητήρια, more vulgarly ἀσκήταις, or σκήτες, or σκήτια, from whence the bazar at Karyés is supplied with articles of monastic dress, caps and bonnets of almost every kind used in Greece, beads, crosses, wooden spoons, and other ordinary implements used in the monasteries. Some of the ἀσκηταὶ, or ascetics, particularly at St. Anna, are book-binders, paint-

The principal askítes besides those dependent on Lavra, are the new skiti of St. Paul[1], that of Xenófu[2], St. Elias of Pandokrátora[3], St. Demetrius of Vatopédhi[4], Pródhromo, or the skiti of Kutlumúsi[5], the skiti of A. Triádha near Simópetra, and a monídhi of St. Basil on the shore not far from Karyés.

The Oros supplies its inhabitants with timber, firewood, oil, olives, figs, walnuts, potherbs, grapes, and wine, but for bread corn they are entirely dependent upon their metókhia beyond the isthmus: of which the Oros possesses no less than fifty-five in the adjacent parts of *Macedonia*, or in the island of Thaso. Fish is the only animal food permitted on the peninsula, except to strangers of distinction, who are always expected to contribute something to the treasury. The ordinary food therefore of the Aghiorítes[6], even when there is no fast, is vegetables, salt-fish, olives, and cheese. Fresh fish they make little use of: their timid and indolent habits, the deep and tempestuous sea that surrounds them, and the want of boats, combining to deprive them of the best nourishment their rules allow. The mountain is forbidden ground to all animals of the female sex. Neither cow, nor ewe, nor sow, nor hen, nor she-cat, is to be seen; but of course the wild animals and birds defy them; rats and mice multiply and devour them, and they are obliged to confess their obligations to the queen bee, without whose

[1] Νεὰ Σκήτη τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου.

[2] Ξενοφητηκὴ Σκήτη.

[3] Προφῆτ' Ἐλίας τοῦ Παντοκράτορος.

[4] Ἅγιος Δημήτριος τοῦ Βατοπεδίου.

[5] Πρόδρομος ἢ ἡ Κυτλουμουσιανὴ σκήτη.

[6] Οἱ Ἁγιορῖται.

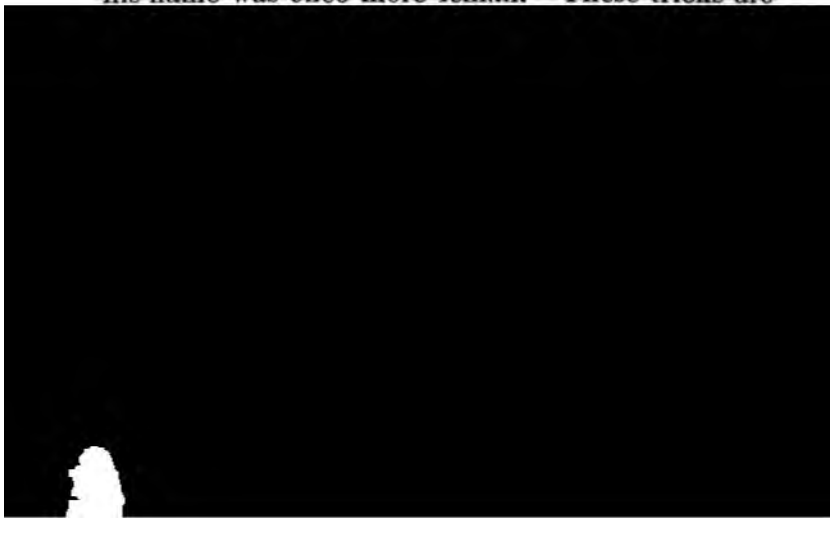
assistance they would be deprived of one of their staple productions. All the buildings swarm with wild pigeons in search of food, fortunately for the carnivorous traveller, who without this resource, and that afforded by a few cocks which are kept either for his sake or for a retired prelate in case of illness, would find it difficult to make a dinner. The vulgar believe, or affect to believe, contrary to the evidence of their senses, that nothing feminine can live[1] upon the peninsula; and I have heard the sailors of the *Ægæan* relate stories of women who have been punished with immediate death for having had the audacity to land upon it. The pastures of the mountains are chiefly peopled with mules and young bulls[2], which, as well as some oxen, rams, and goats[3], are bred at the metókhia beyond the isthmus, and brought here to grow and fatten. A sheep or goat is killed occasionally at Karyés for the use of the Agá and his household, but even he cannot have any female in his house.

The amount of the contributions to the Porte and to the Pashá of Saloníki is about 150 purses,

obligations more burthensome than their direct taxes and current expences.

The inhabitants of Mount Athos are assembled of course from all parts of Turkey, and consist chiefly of men in the decline of life, who retire hither from motives of piety, or more commonly for the sake of securing the remainder of their days from the dangers of Turkish despotism. Any man who brings money with him is welcome; if old, he is not received without it, but the young and laborious are admitted free of expense, and after serving for some years as cosmics they become caloyers. As these persons merely seek their living, they are generally of the lowest classes. Not a few of every period of life are fugitives from the effects of their own crimes, or from Turkish vengeance, whether just or unjust. Hence it seldom happens at present, though it was probably otherwise during the Byzantine empire, that more than a few of the monks in each monastery know any thing beyond the liturgy, the remainder being at the utmost just able to read the church service. Several were pointed out to me, who having formerly become Musulmans and then repented, have fled to this place as the only one where they can return to the church and save themselves from the punishment which awaits the Turkish apostate. Not long since a young Jew of Saloníki came to the Oros to embrace Christianity and the monastic life; but as soon as he had been well-clothed, returned to Saloníki, and there received new favours from the Jews for renouncing Christianity. One of the monks of Vatopédhi, who

had been instrumental to his first conversion, informs me that he found this Jew soon after at Adrianople practising as a physician. A young Turk of Constantinople, who, being the son of a Janissary of the Patriarch, had been brought up in the constant view of the ceremonies of the church, and had thus become thoroughly acquainted with them, finding himself totally destitute on his father's death, came to Vatopédhi and served for three years as an ἐφήμερος, or one of the priests who take their turns to say the daily mass, and who have frequent opportunities of sharing in the gifts of pilgrims or others. After having conformed himself during that period to all the forms of confession as well as to the usual mortifications, such as an occasional retirement to a hermitage to live on bread and water, he became tired at length of such a life, and desirous of spending some of the piastres which he had collected. Presenting himself therefore one day to the Igúmenos, he asked his commands for Constantinople, stating that he had now finished his affairs at the Oros, and that his name was once more Ismaíl. These tricks are



a prostration of the body to the ground. The μικρὴ, or little metánia, is a cross and bend without prostration. The price of an ἀγρυπνία, or vigil and mass for the benefit of the purchaser's soul, is 25 piastres, of the παρρησία, 50 piastres: by means of the latter sum the donor is mentioned in a particular prayer on certain feast days as long as the monastery endures.

Among the present inmates of Vatopédhi is an old Chiote, who has been long in the Russian service in various parts of Europe, and now enjoys a pension as a retired captain: he had intended to pass the remainder of his days on the Oros, but disgusted with the companions whom he finds here, is about to return to Teresopol, where he has a daughter married to a Russian colonel. He was at Kherson when Catherine, anxious for the prosperity of her newly-founded city of Kherson, sent thither the Corfiotes Eugenius Búlgari, and Theotóki, with the princess Gkika, all persons well qualified to improve their countrymen, many of whom had been induced to settle there by the advantages which the empress held out. The governor, however, was a Russian, and as such, hated the Greeks. To a new colony, at such a distance from the capital, this was fatal. The poorer settlers perished in great numbers in the winter of 1780; and in 1784 the plague was introduced into Kherson, by which the Chiote captain lost five grown children in four days.

Vatopédhi having greater natural advantages than any other situation on the northern coast of the peninsula, may be presumed to occupy the site

of one of the towns of *Acte*, but the only antiquities I can find are two sepulchral inscriptions in the church. One of these is in memory of one Hero, daughter of Pancratides, and wife of Astycreon, son of Philip, to whose name that of Astycreon himself was afterwards added[1]. The other inscription is in the magazine of the convent, on a large sorus, now full of oil. Germanus, son of Heracles, being still alive, constructed the tomb for his wife Dionysia, daughter of Dionysius, and for himself, and declared that if any other person should dare to open it, or to place in it another body, he should pay a fine to the public chest of 2000 denaria, and the same sum to the city: dated in the year 351, the second of the month Panemus[2].

Nov. 2.—From Vatopédhi to Khilandári[3] in two hours and three quarters: the road very stony and winding, and traversing a succession of heights not far from the sea. Half an hour short of Khilandári stands Siménu, properly Ἐσφιγμένου, situ-

[1] Vide Inscription, No 123, on the same monument:—Diis Manibus. Publio Marroni, Publii filio Voltinii Narcissi,

[2] Γερμανὸς Ἡρακλᾶ Διονυσία Διονυσίου τῇ συμβίῳ καὶ

[redacted]

ated close to the sea, at the mouth of a torrent in a little narrow valley, from which *compressed* position the name is taken. The monastery was founded by Theodosius the younger and his sister Pulcheria. About a mile to the eastward is a secure little creek; and on the hill which separates the vale of Siménu from that of Khilandári is a tower standing on the edge of the cliff above the sea: some part of its wall is said to be of Hellenic masonry, though I saw no appearance of this in riding along the beach below it. It is also reported that there were formerly many Hellenic foundations at the Arsaná of Khilandári, which is a mile below that monastery, and in particular the remains of a mole, part of which is now left. So many of the elder monks agree in this, that there seems little doubt that here stood one of the ancient cities of *Acte*, the situation being moreover one of the most likely from its natural conveniences. A rock at a little distance from the coast affords some shelter, but the anchorage is safe only in fine weather. Khilandári is delightfully situated in a vale watered by a torrent, and surrounded with pine-clad hills. There is a good garden below the monastery, and beyond, as far as the sea, the torrent is shaded with trees. The monks are almost all from Servia and Bulgaria, and the Illyric only is spoken in the convent or read in the church, though many of them can speak and read Greek. The library consists entirely of Illyric books. The monastery was founded by two ascetics, Symeon of Servia and his son Sabbas, but the present church was built by Stephen, king of Servia, son-in-law of the em-

peror Romanus. Khilandári is the tenth and last monastery of the northern shore of the peninsula. Three hours walk from it, towards the opposite shore, is Zográfu another Servo-Bulgarian monastery, and the tenth and last of the southern side of the peninsula. These two houses, but particularly Khilandári, possess larger territories than any of the others, but the land is barren or uncultivated, and does not even produce the useful trees which clothe the eastern parts of the ridge. The pastures alone are of any value.

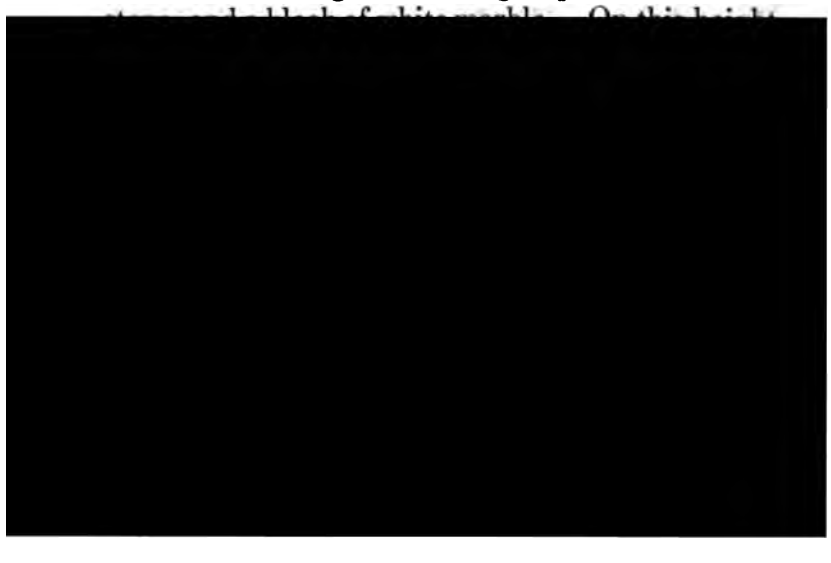
Nov. 3.—At an early hour this morning I proceed from Khilandári to the *Isthmus of Acte*, over hills intersected by narrow valleys; the latter are watered by torrents flowing from the heights on our left, which are covered with pines unmixed with any other trees, or with any intervals of cultivation. The route follows the direction of the shore, at no great distance from it, for 2h.45m., when at the summit of the ridge which terminates in the cape forming the northern extremity of the peninsula, and the eastern side of the entrance into the Gulf of Erissó, we leave the highest point of this

tókhi of Bulgarians belonging to the monastery of Khilandári : then, after passing over a rocky point clothed with wood, enter the low undulated ground forming the Isthmus which connects the Peninsula of *Acte* with the great peninsula of *Chalcidice*. The first metókhi on the isthmus is that of Ivíron ; a quarter of an hour beyond which is the Vatopedhinó. These farms and monídhia stand on the shore of the bay of Erissó, the former to the eastward of the narrowest part of the isthmus, the latter a few hundred yards of it to the westward. The modern name of this neck of land is Próvlaka, evidently the Romaic form of the word προαύλαξ, having reference to the canal *in front* of the Peninsula of Athos, which crossed the isthmus and was excavated by Xerxes. The breadth of the isthmus, or length of the canal, appears to me not quite so much as the Roman mile and a half which Pliny assigns to it[1]. It is a hollow between natural banks, which are well described by Herodotus as κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι[2], the highest points of them being scarcely 100 feet above the sea. The lowest part of the hollow is only a few feet higher than that level. About the middle of the isthmus, where the bottom is highest,

[1] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 10.—In a plan of the Isthmus by MM. Chanaleilles and Racord, published in the second vol. of the Travels of M. de Choiseul Gouffier, the breadth of the Isthmus on the line of the canal is 1200 toises.

[2] Ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ ὄρος μέγα τε καὶ οὐνομαστὸν, ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων· τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον τὸ ὄρος χερσονοιεδές τέ ἐστι καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δώδεκα σταδίων, πεδίον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης.—Herodot. l. 7, c. 22.

are some traces of the ancient canal; where the ground is lower, it is indicated only by hollows, now filled with water in consequence of the late rains. At the northern end in particular, there is a large pond, divided only from the sea by a narrow ridge of sand. On either side of this pond, are seen foundations of Hellenic walls. Those to the eastward are at some little distance from the pond, but on the opposite side they are close to the edge of it, and of the sea beach, and are traceable for some distance parallel to the beach towards the Vatopedhinó metókhi. At the opposite end of the isthmus, or that which borders the *Singitic* Gulf, the canal passed for the last 200 yards along the bed of a rivulet, which originates above Erissó, and discharges itself into the sea between two small heights, which embrace this end of the canal, and behind the eastern of which, above that bank of the canal, are two other similar eminences. The middle of the three has a flat summit, apparently artificial, on the slope of which, towards the canal, are foundations containing several large squared masses of



while Thucydides adds, that it was towards the sea of Eubœa [1].

The canal seems to have been not more than 60 feet wide. As history does not mention that it was ever kept in repair after the time of Xerxes, the waters from the heights around have naturally filled it in part with soil in the course of ages. It might, however, without much labour, be renewed: and there can be no doubt that it would be useful to the navigation of the *Ægæan*, for such is the fear entertained by the Greek boatmen of the strength and uncertain direction of the currents around Mount Athos, and of the gales and high seas to which the vicinity of the mountain is subject during half the year, and which are rendered more formidable by the deficiency of harbours in the Gulf of Orfaná, that I could not, as long as I was on the peninsula, and though offering a high price, prevail upon any boat to carry me from the eastern side of the peninsula to the western, or even from Xiropotámi to Vatopédhi. Xerxes, therefore, was perfectly justified in cutting this canal, as well from the security which it afforded to his fleet, as from the facility of the work, and the advantages of the ground, which seems made expressly to tempt such an undertaking.

[1] ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ ἐς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως, Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἰκηται. — Herodot. 7, c. 22.

. . . . τὴν Ἀκτὴν καλουμένην· ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως διωρύγματος ἔσω προὔχουσα καὶ ὁ Ἄθως αὐτῆς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν τελευτᾷ ἐς τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος. Πόλεις δὲ ἔχει, Σάνην μὲν, Ἀνδρίων ἀποικίαν, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα, ἐς τὸ πρὸς Εὔβοιαν πέλαγος τετραμμένην. — Thucyd. l. 4, c. 109.

The experience of the losses which the former expedition under Mardonius had suffered suggested the idea. The circumnavigation of the capes Ampelus and Canastræum was much less dangerous, as the gulfs offer some good harbours, and it was the object of Xerxes to collect forces from the Greek cities in those gulfs as he passed. If there be any difficulty arising from the narrative of Herodotus, it is in comprehending how the operation should have required so long a time as three years [1], when the king of Persia had such multitudes at his disposal, and among them Egyptians and Babylonians, who were accustomed to the making of canals.

The view from the site of *Sane* comprehends only a small portion of the southern coast of *Acte*, a cape near Zográfu hiding all the more distant part; the island of Mulianí, which is only a mile or two distant, impedes also the prospect of all the eastern coast of *Sithonia*, except that of Port Vurvurí, before which are some islands seen in a line with the northern extremity of Mulianí, and to the right of which appears the coast at the head of the *Singitic* Gulf. At Vurvurí is the isthmus of the

minating on the northern coast in a cape which lies half way between Erissó and the Vatopedhinó metókhi, and shuts out all view of the one valley from the other. At the opening in the ridge, stands another metókhi, belonging to one of the convents of the Holy Mountain, and half a mile beyond it, on a height adjoining the ridge, is Erissós or Ierissós [1], consisting of 150 scattered houses, inhabited entirely by Greeks, and of which those nearest to the sea are about a quarter of a mile distant from it, and half an hour from the Vatopedhinó metókhi. The height of Erissó is crowned with a ruined castle of the middle ages, and on the shore stands a windmill, the only one I have seen on the continent of Greece, except at Mégara: here also is a large ancient mole, advancing in a curve into the sea, and though in ruins still serving to shelter the boats which navigate the *Strymonic* Gulf. As Herodotus denominates the sea at the northern end of the Canal of Xerxes the Sea of the Acanthii, the mole seems sufficient evidence of the position of the *port* of *Acanthus*, and consequently, that *Acanthus* occupied exactly the situation of the modern Erissó; in confirmation of which I find on the maritime or northern side of the hill upon which the village stands, some remains of a Hellenic wall, constructed of square blocks of grey granite, of which stone there is an ancient quarry near the port of Platý. There are some foundations of similar construction at a greater distance from the sea, particularly near a

[1] Ἔρισσὸς, Ἱερισσός.

new khan in the lower part of the village; these seem to have belonged to the town walls, the former to the Acropolis. It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that Ptolemy and the Epitomizer of Strabo have erroneously placed Acanthus on the Singitic instead of the Strymonic Gulf, in which they are opposed by Herodotus, who is extremely accurate in his topography of the Persian invasion, and with whom Scymnus and Mela are in agreement. The error of Strabo and Ptolemy may perhaps have arisen from the territory of Acanthus having stretched for a considerable distance along the shore of the *Singitic* as well as the *Strymonic* Gulf, from the former of which Erissó is not two miles distant. It would even seem from Livy that Acanthus had a harbour on that gulf; for in describing the course of the fleet of Attalus and the Romans in the Macedonic war, B.C. 200, when after their failure at Cassandria they sailed to Acanthus, he states only that they sailed round the promontory of Canastræum and that of Torone [1], thereby implying that they did not double the cape of Athos.

of Uranopolis, or the city of the Uranidæ, Οὐρανίδων πόλεως, as the name is inscribed upon them, of which place history has left us no information, except that it was founded by Alexarchus, brother of Cassander, king of Macedonia [1]. Possibly it may have occupied the same site as Sane, as Pliny, the only author besides Athenæus who names Uranopolis, has not included Sane among the towns of Athos [2].

Herodotus, Thucydides, and Strabo, agree in showing that the peninsula of Acte contained five cities, named Dium, Thyssus, Cleonæ, Acroathos, or the city of the Acrothoi, and Holophyxus [3]; to these Scylax adds Charadriæ [4]. As all these authorities agree in showing the city of the Acrothoi to have been near the extremity of the peninsula, there seems no situation with which it can be identified but that of Lavra, where alone the site and a small harbour offer some natural conveniences. The proximity of Lavra to the adjacent cape Zmyrna is a further proof, for *Acroathos* was a cape as well as a town, and it is evident that Zmyrna and St. George are the *Acroathos* and *Nymphæum* described by Strabo as being the former the termination of the Strymonic, the latter that of the Singitic Gulf. Strabo, indeed, or his Epitomizer, as well as Pliny and Mela, seem to have supposed that Acroathos stood on the peak of

[1] Athen. l. 3, c. 20, et Heraclid. Lemb. ibid.

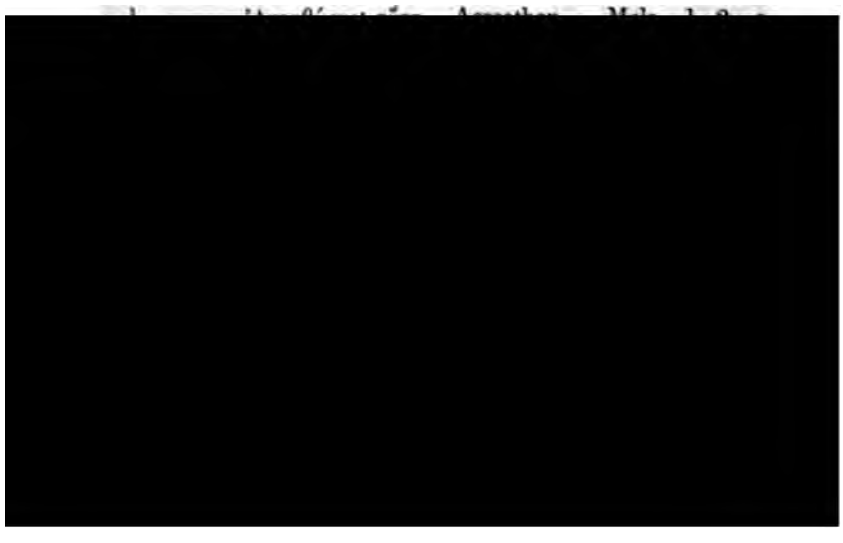
[2] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 10.

[3] Herodot. l. 7, c. 22.—Thucyd. l. 4, c. 109. Strabon Epit. l. 7, p. 331.

[4] Scylax in Μακεδονία.

Athos; but to any person who has seen the mountain, that supposition cannot but appear almost as incredible as that the inhabitants should have seen the sun three hours before those who dwelt on the sea-shore [1]. These absurdities are the more glaring in Strabo, as his description of the peak is correct and forcible. A statue of Jupiter Athous, and some altars, were probably all that ever occupied the position of the modern chapel [2].

Of the situation of the other four cities of *Acte* we have no means of judging, but by the order in which they are named by the four authors just cited. But, unfortunately, they do not all agree in that order, and a comparison of them, as often happens in similar cases, leads to no certain result. Scylax, whose work, being a periplus, ought to be the best authority, arranges them in the following order, coasting from Torone:—Dium, Thyssus, Cleonæ, the mountain Athos, Charadriæ, Holophyxus, and then Acanthus, whence it would appear that Thyssus and Cleonæ were



on the southern, and Charadriæ and Holophyxus on the northern coast. Neither of the two historians mention Sane among the cities of Acte, though it was within the isthmus. Herodotus places next to it, Dium, then Holophyxus, Acrothoum, Thyssus and Cleonæ; while Thucydides thus names them[1], beginning also from Sane: Thyssus, Cleonæ, Acrothoi, Holophyxus, Dium. If then we suppose the two historians to have followed opposite directions round the peninsula, they concur both with one another, and with Scylax, in favouring the opinion that Thyssus and Cleonæ were on the southern coast, and Holophyxus on the northern, but they differ from him as to Dium, which they tend to place on the northern coast.

As they all agree, however, in showing that Dium was the nearest town to the isthmus, in which Strabo concurs by thus enumerating the towns of Acte—Dium, Cleonæ, Thyssus, Holophyxus, Acrothoi, it is very possible that *Dium* was neither on the northern nor southern shore of the peninsula, but on the western, or in the gulf of *Acanthus*. In this case, if it be admitted that Vatopédhi and the Arsaná of Khilandári were ancient positions, it will follow, if we trust to the order of names in Scylax, which in this instance is not opposed to the testimony of the historians or of Strabo, since they all omit Charadriæ, that the latter site was that of *Holophyxus*, and that

[1] It occurs in relating an expedition of Brasidas into Acte, after he had taken Amphipolis in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war.

Vatopédhi is the position of *Charadriæ*. As to Thyssus and Cleonæ, one of them appears to have occupied some situation near Zográfu, or Dhokhiári, and the other that of Xeropotámi; but it is impossible to come to any more precise conclusion, unless we consider the periplus of Scylax as a weightier authority than the others; for Herodotus and Strabo seem to place Cleonæ in the more western position, while Thucydides accords with Scylax in giving that situation to Thyssus. In this case Xeropotámi occupies the site of Cleonæ, and Thyssus stood near Dhokhiári or Zográfu. The discovery of an inscription, with the name of any of these towns, would tend greatly to elucidate this question of the ancient sites of Acte.

Pliny has so mixed up the names of the cities of this part of Macedonia, that no positive inference can be drawn from him, though it may be worthy of remark, that he, like all the other four authors who enumerate the towns, names Thyssus and Cleonæ contiguously.

From Erissó a road, which soon joins that from the southern end of the Próvlaka, or site of *Sane*,

the name of Kassándhra. The road from Erisso to the Porta passes by Aio Nikóla, a village not far from the north-western extremity of the *Singitic* Gulf, thence to Ermylíes, or Ormýlia[1], situate a few miles from the north-eastern angle of the *Toronaic* Gulf, and by Molivó-pyrgo to Aio Mamás, both situated on the same shore, the latter two hours from the Porta.

In the Singitic Gulf, according to Herodotus, the maritime towns between Sane and Cape Ampelus were Assa, Pilorus, Singus, and Sarta[2], and as the historian was describing the progress of the fleet of Xerxes, we can hardly doubt that their situations were in that order. Sykiá is probably a corruption of *Singus*, from which the gulf was named Singitic. *Assa* perhaps occupied the site of some ruins called Paleókastro, which are at the northern extremity of the Singitic Gulf, about midway by land between Erissó and Vurvurí, and on the road to Porta about midway between Erissó and Ormýlia. The position in the centre of a fertile country at the head of the gulf seems to correspond to the apparent importance of Assa, as deducible from Theopompus, Aristotle and Pliny[3]; if we suppose, as can hardly be doubted,

[1] σταὶς Ἐρμυλίαις, στὰ Ὀρμύλια, and sometimes Ῥωμύλια.

[2] Herodot. l. 7, c. 122.

[3] Theopomp. ap. Stephan. in Ἄσσηρα.

ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ τῇ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρύτιδι. — Aristot. Hist. Anim. l. 3, c. 12. Here was a river which from its coldness was called the ψυχρὸς, and which had the reputation of causing the sheep which drank of it to produce black lambs.

Oppidum Cassera, faucesque alteræ Isthmi, Acanthus, Stagira, &c.—Plin. l. 4, c. 10.

The real orthography was probably Ἄσσηρα, as it oc-

that the Assa of Herodotus is the same place as the Assyra of Aristotle and the Cassera of Pliny; *Pilorus*, on this supposition, may have occupied Port Vurvurí, or one of the harbours adjacent to it on the north, and Kartáli may be a corruption of *Sarta*, marking the site of that city, which probably, like many others of the Greek cities of Thrace, declined after the Macedonian conquest.

In the gulf of Kassándhra, anciently known as the Sermylian, or Mecybernæan[1], as well as the Toronaic, the towns on the eastern and northern sides were situated in the following order, according to their occurrence in Herodotus: Torone, Galepsus, Sermyle, Mecyberna, Olynthus. Of the situation of Sermyle there can be no doubt, there being no greater difference between Σερμύλη and the modern Ὀρμύλια, or Ἐρμυλίες, than might even have existed anciently between the local and the general form of the word. The site of *Olynthus* at Aio Mamás is known by its distance of 60 stades from *Potidæa*, or the isthmus of *Pallene*[2], as well as by some vestiges of the city still exist-

of Thrace, after having escorted the defeated Xerxes to the Hellespont[1]. From Athenæus, on the authority of Hegesandrus, we learn that the name of the marsh was Bolyca, and that it received two rivers, named the Ammites and Olynthiacus[2].

The ruins of *Torone* preserving their ancient name, and the positions of *Olynthus* and *Sermyle* being obtained, it follows from the order of names in Herodotus, that *Mecyberna* was at Molivópyrgo where some remains of antiquity are said to be preserved; and the site of *Galepsus* is to be sought for in some part of the shore about 25 miles in length, which lies between *Torone* and the port of *Sermyle*. Galepsus I take to have been the same place afterwards called Physcella[3], a distinction having probably been required because there was another Galepsus at no great distance, on the sea-coast, eastward of the Strymon.

In the peninsula of Pallene there were eight towns in the time of the Persian invasion, and in the following order, coasting from Olynthus to the Thermaic gulf: Potidæa, Aphytis, Neapolis, Ægе, Therambo, Scione, Mende, Sane. Of these it appears from other authors, and especially from Strabo, who names no others, that the principal besides Potidæa were Aphytis, Mende, Scione,

[1] Herodot. l. 8, c. 127.

[2] Athen. l. 8, c. 3. ἡ Βολυκὴ λίμνη is nothing more than the lake of Olynthus, the B being a common Macedonian prefix: though probably both names originate in a word having reference to the marsh, and having the same import and origin as θολός.

[3] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 10.—Mela, l. 2, c. 3.

and Sane. All these, except Sane, were sufficiently opulent to coin their own money, of which specimens are still extant. *Aphytis* is determined by the modern name 'Athyto, attached to a village on the eastern shore, about one third of the distance between Porta or *Cassandreia* and Cape Paliúri, the ancient Canastræum. Therambus appears from Stephanus to have been on or very near a promontory [1], to which circumstance of position Lycophron seems to have alluded in mentioning Therambus in a passage relating to Phlegra [2], which was the ancient name of Pallene. Therambus therefore occupied a position very near Cape Canastræum. The south-western cape of *Pallene*, by Livy called Posidium [3], and by Thucydides Posidonium [4], probably from a temple of Neptune which stood upon it, still retains the former appellation [5], vulgarly pronounced Posídhi.

Mende appears, from the following circumstances, to have been situated near this cape on the south-western side. When Attalus and the Romans, in the year B.C. 200, sailed from Sciathus against Cassandria, they first touched at

According to these data it seems evident, that some Hellenic remains which have been observed on the shore, near Cape Posídhi, to the eastward, as well as on the heights above it, are those of Mende, such a position of Mende with relation to Posidium according moreover with the transactions of the ninth year of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians, proceeding from Potidæa against Mende and Scione, sailed to Posidonium, and after having taken Mende, proceeded against Scione, of which the territory was conterminous with that of Mende[1]. The order of names in Herodotus, therefore, which tends to place *Scione* between the Capes Paliúri and Posídhi, agrees perfectly with the narrative of Thucydides: and the remains of *Sane* should, according to Herodotus, be sought for between Cape Posídhi and the western side of the isthmus of Porta. Mela accords with the same conclusion as to Scione, inasmuch as he states it to have occupied together with Mende the broadest part of the peninsula, but he is opposed to it in regard to the position of Sane, which he places near Canastræum[2].

[1] Thucyd. ubi sup.

[2] Mela, l. 2, c. 2, 3.

CHAPTER XXV.

MACEDONIA.

Stratóni, *Stratoniceia*—Nízvoro—Mines of lead and silver—Lybjádha—Kafkaná—*Caprus*—Stavros, *Stageirus*—Gulf of *Posidium*, plain *Syleus*, lake *Bolbe*, *Aulon*, *Arethusa*, *Bromiscus*—*Argilus*—Ferry of *Strymon*—*Eion*—Orfaná, *Phagres*—Neokhóri, *Amphipolis*—Lake *Cercinitis*—Inscription—*Battle of Amphipolis*—*Capture of Amphipolis by Brasidas*—Takhynó—Serres, *Sirrhæ*—Inhabitants of the *Strymonic* plain, &c.

Nov. 4.—From Erissó to Nízvoro: distance, three hours and three quarters. A ride of forty minutes brings us to the end of the cultivated lands of Erissó, which bear corn, Kalambókki, and vines. The low undulations of ground which border the isthmus become higher as we advance, and at length are blended with a woody ridge which, branching from the mountain of Nízvoro, has a direction

with another from the mountain of Nízvoro, follow a wide torrent, a branch of the latter, and ascend some narrow valleys, which conduct at length by a steep path to Nízvoro. This town stands in a lofty situation on the south-western face of a woody mountain, the extremity of a ridge, which stretches westward from thence across the *Chalcidic* peninsula. In the ascent we passed in several places large heaps of the burnt ore of the silver mines, which have given to the surrounding district the name of Sídhero-kapsa, and we looked down to the right on an inlet which branches from the northern side of the *Acanthian* bay. At the head of this bay, on a small level, a Hellenic castle is described to me as situated on a height, and as enclosing a space of four strémata; below it, on the sea-side, there are said to be many Hellenic foundations with remains of an ancient port. The place is called Stratóni, and is supposed to be the ancient Stageirus. An agoyátes, who accompanied the horses on foot, remarked to me that it was ἡ πατρίδα τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους, or the native town of Aristotle. Yesterday, in like manner, a monk of the Vatopedhinó metókhi showed some knowledge of the history of the invasion of Xerxes, and that notwithstanding the mass of ignorance collected in the monasteries of the Oros, some recollections of ancient history are still preserved here. This may be attributed in great measure to the *Chalcidice* and its three smaller peninsulas being inhabited by Greeks unmixed either with the Bulgarian or Albanian race, and having very few Turks among them. Nevertheless the tradition as to

Stageirus is probably erroneous, for *Stageirus* was a place of greater importance than the vestiges at Stratóni and its confined valley indicate, and the latter name so nearly resembles *Stratoniceia* that there is a strong presumption of the identity. It is true that Ptolemy, the only author who mentions Stratoniceia, places it in the Singitic gulf, but this may be a consequence of his having improperly assigned Acanthus to the same gulf[1].

Nízvoro contains three or four hundred houses, divided into two nearly equal Makhaládhes, situated half a mile apart, the one inhabited by Greeks, at the head of whom is the bishop of Erissós, one of the suffragans of the metropolitan of Thessalonica, and styled also bishop of 'Aghion Oros; the other by Turks, and the residence of Rustém Aga, who, as Madém 'Agasi, has the direction of the neighbouring silver mines, together with the government of twelve eleftherokhória in the *Chalcidic* peninsula, which from this union of the Mukatá are named the Sidherokápsika, or Mademokhória. Not long since Rustém was nearly expelled from his

off his head. My Janissary, who relates this anecdote, considers it as a proof of Rustém being a *doghru adém*, or upright man. Rustém pays the Porte 120 purses and 200 okes of silver for the mukatá of the villages and mines, but as he never makes more than 100 okes from the mines, he is obliged to supply the difference in money. This he is enabled to do by the Greeks of the Sidherokápsika, who are well content to make good the deficiency for the sake of the advantages they derive from belonging to the government of the mines. The owner of the house in which I lodge pays 300 piastres a year in δοσήματα of all kinds. Belon, who visited the mines of Sidherokápsa in the middle of the sixteenth century, asserts that he found five or six hundred furnaces in different parts of the mountain, that besides silver, gold was extracted here from pyrites, that 6000 workmen were then employed, and that the mines sometimes returned to the Turkish government a monthly profit of 30,000 ducats of gold. The name Sidherokápsa, although implying a smelting of iron, is generally applied to places where any appearances of metallurgy remain ; it is not probable that there ever existed any iron works in this place.

The villages attached to the government of the Mines are chiefly situated in the highlands of the *Chalcidic* peninsula on either side of the central ridge, and in a part of the country to the south-west of Nízvoro, towards the isthmus of *Sithonia*. In this direction, four hours distant, is Reveníko, containing 200 houses. On the direct road to Saloníki, which is eighteen hours distant, are Elerí-

gova, four hours from Nízvoro, containing 400 houses, Galátista, or Galátzita, of 500 houses, eight hours farther, and Vasiliká of 400, midway from the latter to Saloníki. Galátista is near the origin of a stream which separates the highlands of *Chalcidice* into two parallel ridges, and joins the sea in the bay of Saloníki. The road from Galátista follows the river nearly to its mouth. Not far short of Vasiliká, to the right of the road, is the monastery of St. Anastasia. To the southward of Galátista, towards Políghyro, are Vávdho, of 300 houses, two hours distant, and beyond it, at a like distance, Rizitníkia. To the northward of Galátista, in the mountains towards the valley of Klisalí and Besíkia, are Adhámi, Zaklivéri, and Ravaná, the last of which is on the road from Saloníki to Pazarúdhi.

The ridges which extend westward from Nízvoro rise to a central peak called Solomón, or Kholomón [1], possibly an ancient name, from whence the waters flow southward to the gulfs of Aion Oros and Kassándhra, westward to that of Saloníki, and northward, into the lake of Besíkia. There are said to be some remains of an ancient town at the

with a council or deputation for the repartition of the taxes, and other general concerns, which assembles at Políghyro, the residence of the Turkish agá, who farms the revenue from the Porte. Políghyro contains 600 families, and stands at a distance of three hours from the shore of the Gulf of Kassándhra, at the foot of the heights of Kholomón. The Khásika comprehend all the ἥμερα βουνὰ [1], or cultivable heights and undulated country, which fall southward from those mountains to the *Toronaic* and *Thermaic* Gulfs. The northern part of the district bordering on the latter gulf is known by the name of Kalameriá, and is one of the most productive districts in *Macedonia*. With the exception of some Turkish tjiftlíks, and some metókhia of Aion Oros, the land of the Khásika is possessed entirely by the villages. Besides affording excellent winter pasture for cattle and sheep, it produces an abundance of grain of superior quality; its wool, honey, and wax, are also considerable, and silk-worms are raised in the villages, particularly in the two principal towns, Políghyro and Ermylíes, which alone contain four or five hundred silk-looms.

Kassándhra, or the peninsula of *Pallene*, forms a similar union of villages, under a Turkish Vóivoda, who resides at Valta, towards the centre of the peninsula. The villages are twelve in num-

perty and influence, which are the general qualifications of the 'Arkhondes in the Eleftherokhória of Greece.

[1] A common Greek expression in contradistinction to ἄγρια βουνά.

ber, of which 'Athyto, Valta, Furka, Kaléndria, and Aghía Paraskeví, are the principal. The produce of the peninsula is similar to that of the Khásika, which adjoins to it, besides which the *Pallenæans* have numerous boats and small vessels, and derive great benefit from their maritime traffic.

Nov. 5.—The mines now wrought are about half an hour from Nízvoro, between two hills, in a deep ravine, where a stream of water serves for the operations of washing, as well as to turn a wheel for working the bellows for the furnace. The whole is conducted in the rudest and most slovenly manner. The richest ore is pounded with stones upon a board by hand, then washed and burnt with charcoal; the inferior ore is broken into larger pieces, and burnt twice without washing. The lead, when extracted from the furnace, is carried to Kastro, where the silver is separated, in the proportion of two or three drams to an oke of 400 drams. When the present shafts are exhausted, the mines will probably be abandoned. From the mines I return, by a circuitous path, to

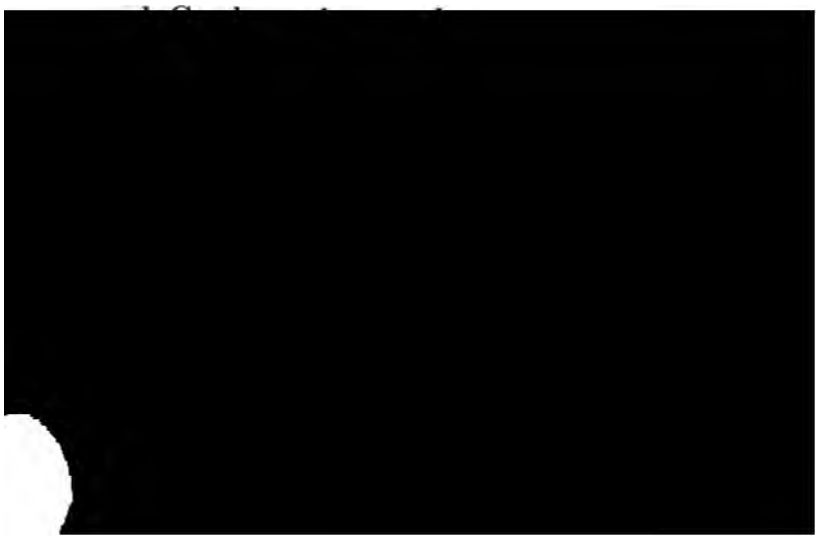
and to the north of oaks. Some of the elms are very fine trees. All the forenoon we travel amidst the clouds, which, as the wind is to the south-east, hang low upon the hills, and at 6.30 descend upon the southern corner of the plain of Lybjádha, around which all the sides of the hills are covered with great heaps of scoriæ, similar to those near the Madén of Nízvoro, but much larger and more numerous.

The plain, which is a dead level in the form of an equilateral triangle, surrounded by woody mountains, is covered with fields of kalambókki, and intersected with torrents shaded by large plane trees. The scoriæ are seen in the greatest quantities in the bed of one of these torrents, below the corner where we descended; but a peasant who has the care of a magazine for the maize, informs me, that towards the summit of the mountain there are heaps of the same substance larger than any near the valley, and shafts of a much greater depth and size. Some of these may be works, perhaps, of the ancient Macedonians, whence a part of the silver money was derived, the prodigious quantity of which is proved by the proportion of it still existing. I am not aware, however, that any ancient author has noticed mines in this part of the country.

On inquiring for ancient buildings, the keeper of the magazine conducts me to the southern angle of the bay, where I find the remains of a thin wall constructed of small stones and mortar, built across the neck of a promontory, and a little within the same point towards the plain, many fragments

of ancient pottery on the side of the hill, with a piece of Hellenic wall crossing a little ravine or water-course. In the adjacent angle of the bay is a place called the Skala, where plank and scantling are now lying ready for embarkation. The bay is sheltered by an island in the middle, distant a mile and a half from the shore, and about as much in circumference. It is called Kafkaná [1], a word derived from καύω, like Kafkhió and Kapsa, names which we generally find attached to places preserving appearances of metallurgic operations.

The bay, plain, paleókastro, and skala, are all known by the name of Lybjádha, which the natives derive from that of the mother of Alexander, and not without probability; since the omission of the initial o, the third case, and the conversion of Ανμπιάδα into Ανμπτζιάδα, are all in the ordinary course of Romaic corruption. A situation a little below the serái of the Agá at Kastro, where some fragments of columns are still seen, is said to have been the site of Alexander's mint. Both Turks



Strymonic Gulf, except Lefthéridha, and the latter being close to the cape now called Marmári, which forms the northern side of the entrance into the bay of *Acanthus*, is too far from *Stageirus*, if that place, as I suspect from the name, stood at the modern Stavros. Leftherídha, moreover, being nothing more than the Romaic form of *Eleutheris*, seems to indicate the preservation of an ancient name. Within that cape to the northward there is a small harbour.

Leaving the skala at 8.30 Turkish, and following the beach, I arrive at 9 at the point which forms the northern extremity of the bay and plain, and from thence follow the sea shore under the mountains, winding to the left as we enter upon the shore of the bay of Réndina, as this extremity of the *Strymonic* gulf is called, until we arrive at 10.50 on the beach immediately below the village of Stavros, and about a mile eastward of the western extremity of the gulf, where now lies a ship loading wood. An ascent of a quarter of an hour brings me to the village of Stavros, which stands on a height at the foot of woody mountains, similar to those enclosing the plain of Lybtzádha.

Stavros contains about 50 houses, inhabited by cultivators of kalambókki grounds in the plain at the head of the gulf, or by pastors of the fine cattle, of which there are numerous flocks in every part of the *Chalcidic* peninsula. The position is

γείρον πόλεως τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους στάδια τετρακόσια· ἐν ᾗ λιμὴν ὄνομα Κάπρος καὶ νησίον ὁμώνυμον τῷ λιμένι· εἶτα αἱ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐκβολαί. — Strabo, p. 331.

very much that of a Hellenic town, the height being detached in front of the mountain, flanked on either side by a torrent, and falling to a level which is itself higher than the plain adjacent to the sea-shore. There are even some appearances of ancient walls of a very rough and irregular species on the eastern side above the torrent.

These remains, the position, and the name Stavros, which, the accent in Στάγειρος being on the first syllable, is a natural contraction of that name, seem decisive of Stavros being the site of *Stageirus*.

Herodotus in describing the march of the army of Xerxes from the mouth of the Strymon to Acanthus, states, that after passing Argilus and leaving the gulf of Posidium on the left, they traversed the plain called Syleus, and then passing Stageirus arrived at Acanthus [1], all which accords perfectly with the supposition just stated, the plain which lies between it and the sea being sufficiently wide for the army to have left the city on the right. That Stageirus was not far from Acanthus is rendered probable by their

geirus immediately followed the example[1]. In the fact of the restoration of Stageirus by the influence of Aristotle[2], we have a proof that it had fallen to decay before the time of Alexander; at the same time that the few vestiges now remaining, and the want of all coins of Stageirus[3], give reason to believe that the improvement was not permanent. The city therefore was probably in the height of its prosperity about the time of the Persian war, and with the other Greek colonies in this quarter, declined when western Thrace became a part of the kingdom of Macedonia.

Nov. 6.—From Stavros to Orfaná, distant 5 h. 40 min. without the baggage, which is left to follow as on the three preceding days. Our pace, notwithstanding, is not more than a man's walk, as the agoyátes, from whom I hire the horses, accompany them on foot. The rain begins very soon after we set out, and continues with little intermission all the day; half an hour beyond Stavros, leaving a khan in the plain, a quarter of a mile on the left, we cross a wooden bridge over a small stream which issues from the lake of Besíkia[4], and from thence passing through an

[1] Thucyd. l. 4, c. 88.

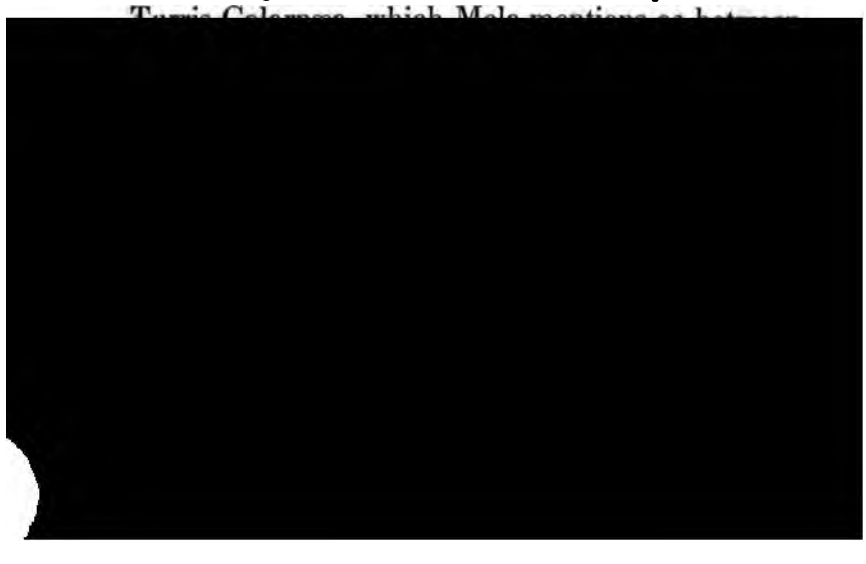
[2] Plutarch. in Alexand.—Diogen. Laert. l. 5, § 4.—Theophr. Hist. Plant. c. 102.—Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 3, c. 17.

[3] Unless those inscribed Ὀρθαγορέων are of this place, as Eckhel supposed on the authority of a fragment in the Geographi Minores, Vol. iv. Pliny (l. 4, c. 11.) however favours the opinion that Orthagoria was the old name of Maronea.

[4] Μπεσίκια.

opening in the mountain, which remains a mile on our left, falls into the sea at the same distance to the right of the bridge. The opening being in the great post road from Saloníki to Constantinople, and in a country which has often been infested by robbers, there is a guard-house in the pass, occupied by a few soldiers, commanded by a bolu-báshi, who examines all passengers, and expects a present of a few parás.

Herodotus calls this maritime plain Syleus, and Thucydides has exactly described the places in relating the march of Brasidas from Arnæ in the Chalcidice to Amphipolis. Moving from Arnæ, he arrived towards the evening at Aulon and Bromiscus, where the lake Bolbe discharged itself into the sea, and after supper marched forward [1]. As the word *Aulon* sufficiently indicates the pass, *Bolbe* was evidently the lake of Besíkia and *Bromiscus*, near the mouth of the river. Arnæ I suspect to have been the same place called Calarna by Stephanus, the existence of which latter place near this part of the coast is shown by the name



valley and station very near to Bromiscus [1]. By a station he probably meant such a guard as now occupies the pass. It appears from the Jerusalem Itinerary, that in the time of the Greek Empire there was a mutatio, or place for changing horses, at the tomb of Euripides, which was on the road from Amphipolis to Apollonia, twenty Roman miles distant from the former and eleven from the latter [2].

The plain diminishes as we advance, and at length becomes a narrow level between the foot of woody mountains and the northern shore of the gulf, partly cultivated with maize and corn, and partly covered with groves of large plane-trees. It belongs, as well as the plain nearer to the *Aulon* of *Arethusa*, to Vrastá, a large village of a mixed population of Greeks and Turks, which stands on the mountain, not far from the *Aulon*, but not in sight from our road. This mountain was comprehended in the ancient Bisaltia, which, according to Stephanus, contained a city of the same name. *Argilus*, another city of the *Bisaltæ*, occupied a position not far from the sea, between *Bromiscus* and the mouth of the *Strymon*. It seems from Herodotus to have been like Stageirus, a little to the right of the route of the army of Xerxes in marching from the Strymon to Acan-

[1] Bromiscus, cui proxima Arethusa convallis et statio est in quâ visitur Euripidis sepulchrum.—Ammian. l. 27, c. 4.—Plutarch. in Lycurg.—Addæi Epig. in Antholog. vol. ii. p. 226, Jacobs.—Stephan. in Βορμίσκος, whence Ὅρμος seems to have been the Etymon.

[2] Itin. Hierosol. p. 604. Wessel.

thus, and may therefore be sought for on the mountain. Its territory extended as far as the right bank of the Strymon; for Cerdylium, the mountain immediately opposite to Amphipolis, was in the territory of Argilus [1].

At the end of two hours and a half from Stavros a violent fall of rain detains us an hour in a hut near the sea, after which we follow the direction of the shore at no great distance from it. In approaching the *Strymon*, the hills are much diminished in height; instead of being covered with wood as before they are partly cultivated, and they terminate in a plain which towards the mouth of the river is sandy, and intersected with marshes. In one hour and forty minutes from the hut, we arrive at the Tjai-agsi, or the river's mouth, as the Turks call the ferry of the *Strymon*, though it is situated a quarter of a mile from the sea. The river is about 180 yards in breadth.

A store-house for the grain of the *Strymonic* plains, which is exported from hence in large quantities to Constantinople, stands on the right [redacted]

among which appear many squared blocks in the Hellenic style. Though the walls are little more than heaps of ruins, enough remains to show that there was a large quadrangular inclosure, with other smaller detached buildings. The greater part of what now remains is evidently of the time of the Byzantine Empire. By the native Greeks the ruins are most erroneously supposed to be those of *Amphipolis:* elsewhere I have heard them attributed to a town of the Lower Empire named Contessa; but Κομιτίσση, which the Italians have converted into Contessa, and from which they have named this gulf, was, according to the monks of Aionóros, a town or fortress of the Lower Empire, at the western extremity of that peninsula. Among the Greeks, the gulf, as I before observed, generally bears the name of Réndina, which was an imperial-Greek town and bishop's see, occupying a position in or near the pass of *Arethusa*[1]. The gulf is sometimes known also as that of Stavros or of Orfaná. The ruins at the ferry of the *Strymon*, whatever may have been their name under the Greek Empire, stand nearly, if not exactly, on the site of that Eion on the Strymon, from whence Xerxes sailed to Asia after his defeat at Salamis[2]; for it seems evident from some of the circumstances attending the battle of Amphipolis, in the tenth year of the Peloponnesian war[3], that Eion stood on this bank of the river.

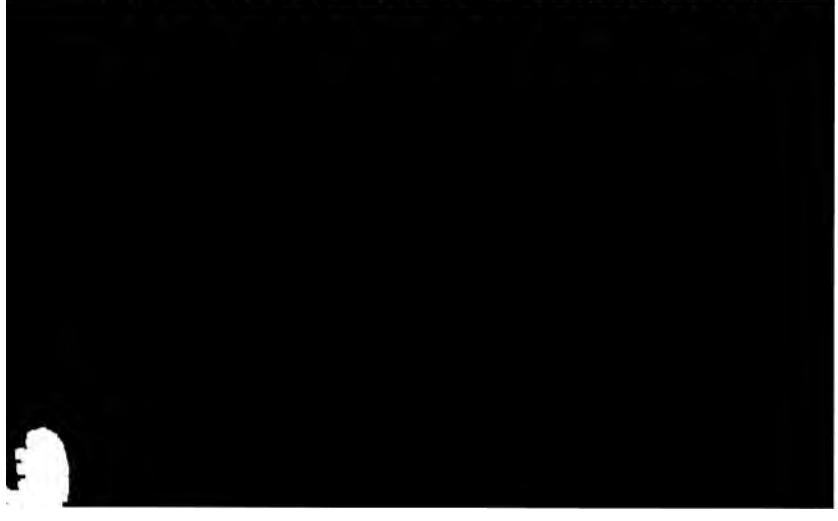
Three quarters of a mile beyond the ferry, and

[1] Melet. vol. ii. p. 464. 8vo. Venice. 1807.

[2] Herodot. l. 8, c. 108.

[3] Thucyd. l. 5, c. 10.

about the same distance from the sea, the hills which border the plain on the eastern side, terminate in a point higher than the part of the ridge behind it, divided into terraces, and having a flat summit, with some appearances of art, but I search in vain for any unequivocal remains of antiquity on it. Along the side of the mountain, of which this height is the termination, stand several Turkish villages, forming a district called Orfaná, belonging to the Serres kázasi. The Turks of Orfaná are descendants of those Osmanlís who came into this country with the predecessors of Mahomet II. and who, like those of Thessaly, are called by the Greeks Κονιάριδες, or Iconians, a name which recalls to memory the most ancient capital of the Turkish power in Asia Minor. They occupy a large portion of the cultivated mountains of Macedonia, and some parts of the plains distant from the large towns. Around the latter the lands are generally tjiftlíks belonging to Turkish inhabitants of the towns, which are farmed by Christians. The Koniáridhes, on the contrary, cultivate their own lands, and seem to be the only Turks in Europe



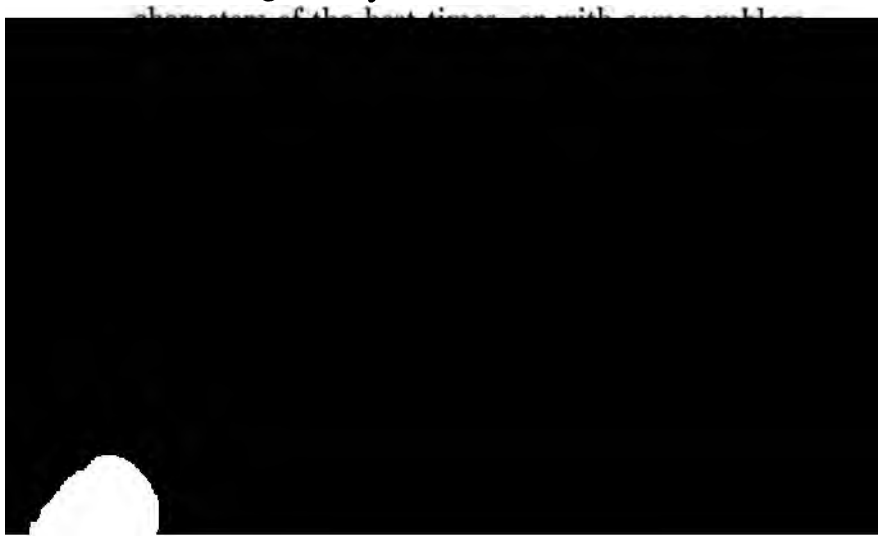
who belonged to an agricultural family of the neighbourhood of Kavála, is an illustrious exception. His uncle, who was governor of that town, having fallen a victim to the arts of his enemies, Mehmét Alí, deprived of this support, was induced to seek his fortune in Egypt, at the head of a small number of followers. The Yurúks, who in Asia live a wandering life, like the Kurds and Turkomans, as their name implies[1], have become more sedentary in Macedonia and Thrace, where they have villages, and have become cultivators. Those in the Pashalík of Saloníki have a chief called the Yurúk Bey, who resides in that city. Their principal abodes are in the districts of Gumertzína, Drama, Nevrokópo, Serres, Strúmitza, Radhovítzi, Tikfis, Karadágh.

From the height above-mentioned, which lies to the left of the direct road, I proceed, over open downs covered with corn-fields, to one of the villages of Orfaná, situated at an hour and a half from the ferry, in a hollow between two heights watered by a small stream, which flows directly to the sea. The village contains fifty or sixty houses, all Turkish except those of five or six Greek shopkeepers. Although not the largest of the makhalás of Orfaná, it is more especially known by that name as being a post station on the great road from Greece to Constantinople. Above

[1] As there is no difference in language, and very little in manners and mode of life, between the Yurúks and Iconians of Europe, they are, I believe, often confounded, though the names sufficiently show the original distinction.

it rises the great mountain, which, stretching eastward from the left bank of the *Strymon*, at the pass of *Amphipolis*, bounds all the eastern portion of the great *Strymonic* basin on the south, and near Právista meets the ridges which inclose the same basin on the east. The mountain is now known by the name of Pirnári, and is evidently the same which has been celebrated by poets and historians under the name of Pangæum [1].

Nov. 7.—Being detained this day by the weather at the menzíl hané, or post-house of Orfaná, I discover in the course of the day that the height which overhangs the village to the eastward was the site of an ancient city. Only a few small pieces of the walls remain in situ, but all the space now ploughed for corn, which they once enclosed, is strewn with fragments of ancient pottery, and the remains of former buildings, among which are a few squared blocks of stone. Greek coins are very often found here, and among other small productions of Hellenic art, oval sling-bullets of lead [2], generally inscribed with Greek names in



I found several of these bullets, and purchased others, together with coins from the people of the village. There is reason to believe that the site is that of Phagres, a place of some importance[1], situated in a district which was named Pieria, because it was inhabited by descendants of emigrants from Pieria near Mount Olympus, who had been driven from thence by the Macedones. Hence the valley included between Mount Pangæum and the sea, in which Phagres was situated, was still called in the time of Thucydides ὁ Πιερικὸς κόλπος, or the Pieric bay[2]; the latter word is explained by the nature of the extensive hollow which reaches from Orfaná to Právista, and is included between *Pangæum* and a lower maritime ridge which at Právista forms a junction with that mountain and there separates the head of the *Pieric* valley from the plain of *Philippi*. The army of Xerxes followed this valley in their march into Greece, leaving, as Herodotus observes, Mount Pangæum on the right[3]. It is true that the order

[1] Hecatæus ap. Stephan. in Φάγρης.—Herodot. l. 7, c. 112.—Thucyd. l. 2, c. 99.—Scylax in Θράκη.—Strabo (Epit. l. 7,) p. 331.

[2] . . . . Πίερας, οἱ ὕστερον, ὑπὸ τὸ Πάγγαιον πέραν Στρυμόνος ᾤκησαν Φάγρητα καὶ ἄλλα χωρία καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερικὸς κόλπος καλεῖται ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Παγγαίῳ πρὸς θάλασσαν γῆ.—Thucyd. l. 2, c. 99. Xenophon in like manner employs κόλπος to describe a branch of the plain of Mantineia: τὸν ὄπισθεν κόλπον τῆς Μαντινικῆς κύκλῳ ὄρη ἔχοντα, (Xenoph. Hell. l. 6, c. 5.) and the word is still often used in the same sense.

[3] Παραμειψάμενος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν εἰρημένην (regionem Satrensium *sc.*) δεύτερα τουτέων παραμείβετο τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων· τῶν καὶ ἐνὶ Φάγρης ἐστὶν οὔνομα, καὶ ἑτέρῳ Πέργαμος· ταύτῃ μὲν

in which the historian names Phagres and Pergamus, as the two chief places in Pieria, tends to the belief that Orfaná occupies the site of *Pergamus* rather than that of *Phagres*; his words however do not absolutely require that Xerxes should have passed the two places in the order in which the names occur, and Orfaná is the only situation in which *Phagres* can be placed, so as to conciliate the testimony of Herodotus and Thucydides, in attributing it to the Pieric valley, with that of Scylax and Strabo, who show that it was the first town beyond the Strymon [1]. If *Phagres* stood at Orfaná, *Pergamus* was most probably the modern Právista.

The march of Xerxes serves also to give a negative intimation of the position of Galepsus and Æsyme, colonies of the Thasii, which were taken by Brasidas after the capture of Amphipolis [2]; for as neither of these places is mentioned as having been in the line of march of the Persians, we may infer that they were on that part

of the coast where the line diverged from the sea and followed the *Pieric* valley. The point where they quitted the shore must, from the nature of the country, have been at or near Kavála; *Galepsus* and *Æsyme*, therefore, were probably on the coast between Kavála and Orfaná, and one of them at the harbour of Neftér which is situated 2 hours to the southward of Právista, just within the cape forming the western entrance of the Gulf of Kavála, where still remain the ruins of a Greek city now known by the name of Paleópoli, or Nefterópoli, or Dhefterópoli; the other in that case was at some point of the coast between Neftér and the mouth of the *Strymon*. The former would rather seem to have been the site of Galepsus than of Æsyme, because Livy in relating that Perseus, when flying from the Romans after his defeat at Pydna, sailed from the mouth of the Strymon to Galepsus on the first day, and on the second to Samothrace[1], renders it probable that Galepsus was towards the middle distance between the Strymon and Samothrace, and that it was one of the most remarkable harbours of the intervening coast, which data can only be reconciled at Nefterópoli. Scylax, it must be admitted, gives an opposite testimony as to the relative situation of Æsyme and Galepsus; but when the assertions of the geographers are at variance with the circumstantial evidence of history, the latter is generally to be preferred.

Although the modern route from Constantinople to Orfaná and Saloníki, leading by Právista through

[1] Liv. l. 44, c. 45.

the *Pieric* valley, along the southern side of Mount *Pangæum*, exactly in the line of that of Xerxes, is the most direct, it does not coincide with the Roman road, or Via Egnatia, which passed along the opposite base of that mountain through Philippi and Amphipolis, probably for the sake of comprehending in the line both those important cities, the former of which was a Roman colony. Were it not certain from the Itineraries that such was the direction of the Roman road, there might be some doubt whether Neapolis, which lay on that route about 12 M. P. short of Philippi, were not at Nefterópoli; but as there would have been in that case a needless detour of near 20 miles by an angle to the north-east, such a supposition cannot be entertained. Neapolis, therefore, or Neopolis according to its coins, occupied the site of Kavála; and Acontisma[1] which was 8 or 9 miles eastward of Neapolis, may be placed near the other end of the passes of the Sapæi[2], which were formed by the mountainous coast stretching eastward from Kavála.

have been omitted by Herodotus in his account of the march of Xerxes, or by Scylax in his Periplus of this coast. Myrcinus therefore was in the interior, to the northward of Mount *Pangæum*, where the Edoni then possessed all the country as far as Drabescus included[1], and probably it was very near the site of *Amphipolis*, which before the Athenian colonization was only a subordinate place called the Nine Ways in the district of Myrcinus, then the chief Greek city in this part of Thrace[2]. When Amphipolis rose to eminence, Myrcinus naturally declined.

Nov. 8.—This morning, at 2.40 Turkish, we return for some distance on the road to Saloníki, then leaving it to the left, arrive at 3.22 at the point mentioned on the 6th, where the surface of the ground has an artificial appearance. The intermediate space between this point and the sea consists chiefly of marshy ground and salt pans, near which latter are some magazines on the sea-beach. Turning again to the right, we follow the direct route to the bridge of the *Strymon* at Neokhóri, proceeding along the foot of the hills. At 3.45 Longúri is a mile and a half on the right: it is the largest of the Koniaro-makhaládhes as the Greeks call the detached quarters of Orfaná; though bearing, like Orfaná, a Greek name, it is inhabited entirely by Turks, dwelling in pyrghi or towers. From hence we approach the strait where the *Strymon* issues from between the hills into the

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 100.

[2] Herodot. l. 5, c. 11, 23, 126.—Thucyd. l. 4, c. 102, 107.

maritime plain, and at 4 mount the heights which advance from Mount *Pangæum* to form the strait. At 4.15, below the little Turkish village of Alybassá, or, as the Greeks call it, Alibassiátes, the ground is covered with broken pottery and fragments of buildings, which mark the beginning of the site of *Amphipolis*. On the road side, as well as in an adjacent field, are several sori of stone, but without any inscriptions now visible on them, at least on any of those which I examined. The ground appears to be full of sepulchres. Here some remains of the walls of *Amphipolis* are visible on the crest of the hill to the left.

Before us, at the same time, opens a fine view of the Strymonic lake mentioned by Thucydides, and by Arrian named Cercinitis[1], together with the extensive plains of Serrés and Zikhna extending thirty miles from west to east, along the foot of a range of lofty mountains. To the southward this great valley is inclosed by the parallel ridge of Pirnári, or *Pangæum*, and by the mountain of 'Orsova and Vrastá, which is separated only from

of three openings, one for the entrance of the *Strymon* near Demirissár, another for its exit at *Amphipolis*, and a third for the entrance of a large branch anciently called Angitas, and now 'Anghista, which, after crossing the plain of Dhráma, the ancient Drabescus, and receiving contributions from around that town and *Philippi*, joins the *Strymonic* lake six or eight miles to the north of *Amphipolis*. The plain of *Drabescus* is concealed from *Amphipolis* by the meeting of the lower heights of *Pangæum* with those which inclose the plain to the north-east. Through this strait the 'Anghista makes its way to the lake, and thus there is a marked separation between the *Strymonic* plain and that which contains *Drabescus* and *Philippi*. The river 'Anghista has its origin in some high mountains around Nevrokópo, and after watering the valley containing that town, is said to have a subterraneous course for some distance before it enters the plain of Dhrama. From the sepulchres on the ridge which connects the hill of *Amphipolis* with Mount *Pangæum* there is a descent of eight minutes to Neokhório, in Turkish Yenikiúy, a small village situated on the side of the hill of *Amphipolis* above the left bank of the river, not far from where it issues from the lake, and is crossed a little below that point by a wooden bridge. Above the bridge, where the lake narrows before it becomes a river, stand two towers of the middle ages, on the opposite sides of the water. A little below the bridge, a stream of some magnitude joins the *Strymon* from the westward.

The site of *Amphipolis* is now called Mármara,

and there was formerly a village of that name[1]. Neokhóri, as the word implies, is of recent construction. It is inhabited by forty Greek families, and is included in the district of Zikhna, a town situated between Dhrama and Serrés, at the foot of the great mountain which borders the *Strymonic* plains to the northward. Neokhóri seems chiefly to owe its existence to the profitable fishery of those *Strymonian* eels[2] which were celebrated among the ancients for their size and fatness, and were considered not inferior to the eels of the lake Copais. They are caught at a dam which crosses the stream half a mile below the bridge of Neokhóri, and which serves as well for this purpose as for a mill-head. Were it not for this artificial impediment, the river, although rapid, would be navigable to Neokhóri and into the lake. The mill belongs to the convent of Pandokrátora on Mount Athos, but the fishery, since it has become valuable, has been claimed by the Sultán, and is now farmed by Fetá Bey of Zikhna, whose deputy I find at the mill, counting the fish as they are caught. Some thou-

are of enormous size. Grey mullet and other migratory sea-fish are sometimes intercepted here in the same manner, but always in a small proportion to the eels. Possibly the *Strymonic* lake is too distant from the sea for the mullet. The freshness of the water can hardly be an objection, as many of the lagoons of Greece and Asia Minor most productive of mullet are of mixed water; and some, as that of *Buthrotum*, are quite fresh. The Bey as Mukátesi levies on the spot 20 parás for each zevgári, or pair, of large eels; and the people of Neokhóri sell them either fresh or salted at 30, 40, or 50 parás a pair, according to the distance to which they are sent. The fishery is said to produce annually about 40,000 brace of large eels, besides the smaller and other fish.

The late rains have rendered the moment favourable for fishing, which is an unfortunate accident for me, having brought hither Fetá Bey's agent to superintend the fishing, from his usual residence at a village an hour distant, of which he is vóivoda. He refuses a present of a pair of pistols, gives orders to prevent my visiting the summit of the hill, and issues a proclamation forbidding the people to sell me any antiquities, but is afterwards so far pacified, though still refusing any present, as to retract the latter part of the order, and to send a messenger to the Bey, who is now at Ziliákhova, a village to the eastward of Zikhna, for permission that I may view the place. My firmáhn he cannot read.

Nov. 9.—The answer of the Bey of Zikhna is unfavourable: the only reason of which appears

to be the persuasion among these barbarians that the site of *Amphipolis* contains hidden treasures. I am obliged, therefore, to leave this interesting site with a transient view of it, and it is not without difficulty that I succeed in copying an inscription in the wall of a fountain in the village; for inscriptions are supposed by Turks to inform us where to dig for treasures: I fortunately observed it yesterday evening, and had transcribed it as soon as there was light enough, this morning, just when some of the Myrmidons of the Agá, who had probably formed some suspicion of my intention, arrived with the design of preventing me. It is a document of great interest, as being written in the Ionic dialect, and as containing the exact words of some of the laws of Athens as cited by the Athenian orators, both which peculiarities are referrible to the fact of Amphipolis having been an Attic colony[1]. The letters are small, but beautifully engraved, and have the form which is supposed to indicate a date earlier than that of Alexander. The record is that of a decree of perpetual

banishment from Amphipolis and its territory, enacted by the people against two of their citizens, Philo and Stratocles, and their children. If they were ever taken they were to suffer death as enemies. Their property was confiscated, and a tenth of it was to be applied to the sacred service of Apollo and of Strymon. Their names were to be inscribed by the Prostatæ upon a pillar of stone; and if any person should revoke the decree, or by any art or contrivance give countenance to the banished men, that man's property also was to be forfeited to the people, and he was to be banished from Amphipolis for ever. [1]

The following is the Greek text in ordinary Hellenic:

Ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ Φίλωνα καὶ Στρατοκλέα φεύγειν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀμφιπολιτῶν [2] *ἀειφυγίαν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας· καὶ ἤν που ἁλίσκωνται πάσχειν αὐτοὺς ὡς πολεμίους καὶ νηποινεὶ τεθνᾶναι· τὰ δὲ χρήματ' αὐτῶν δημόσια εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἐπιδέκατον ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπολ-*

[1] V. Inscription, No. 125.

[2] I have here supplied the third line of the inscription, ΝΤΗΙΓΗΝΤΩΝΑΜΦ, from M. Cousinery's copy; for it is evident from that copy (see V. dans le Macédoine, tome i. p. 128) compared with that which I first published in Mr. Walpole's collection, vol. ii. that I neglected to copy that line. It may seem presumptuous after this admission to oppose my readings of some of the words to M. Cousinery's, but I shall state them, in the hope that some future traveller will determine the truth. In line 7, ΠΕΔΑΣ, Cousinery; ΠΑΙΔΑΣ, Leake. In line 11, 22, ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ, C. ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑΥΤΩΝ, L.; in line 13, ΙΕΡΟΝ, C., ΙΡΟΝ, L.; in line 17, ΣΤΗΛΗΝ, C., ΕΣΤΗΛΗΝ, L.; in lines 19, 20, ΑΝΑΨΗΦΙΣΕΙΝΚΑΤΑΔΕΧΗΤΑΙ, C., ΑΝΑΨΗΦΙΖΕΙΗΚΑΤΑΔΕΧΕΤΑΙ, L.

λωνος καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος· τοὺς δε Προστάτας ἀναγράψαι αὐτοὺς εἰς στήλην λιθίνην· ἐὰν δέ τις τὸ ψήφισμα ἀναψηφίζει ἢ καταδέχεται τούτους τέχνῃ ἢ μηχανῇ ἠτινιοῦν, τὰ χρήματ' αὐτοῦ δημόσια ἔστω, καὶ αὐτὸς φευγέτω Ἀμφίπολιν ἀειφυγίαν [1].

The dialectic peculiarities on the marble are,—φεογειν for φεύγειν—τηγγην for τὴν γῆν—'Αμφιπολιτεων for 'Αμφιπολιτῶν—αειφυγιην for ἀειφυγίαν—αυτος και τος for αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς—ημπου for ἐάν που—αυτος ὡς πολεμιος for αὐτοὺς ὡς πολεμίους—ιρον for ἱερὸν—τος δε for τοὺς δὲ—αυτος ες for αὐτοὺς εἰς—ην δε for ἐὰν δὲ—τουτος for τούτους—οτεωιουν for ἠτινιοῦν—αυτο for αὐτοῦ—φεογετω αειφυγιην for φευγέτω ἀειφυγίαν.

In the first Olynthiac oration of Demosthenes, the name of Stratocles occurs as one of two deputies who were sent to Athens from Amphipolis to request the assistance of an armament to save the city from Philip, who took it in the same year, after having beaten down the walls with engines and entered the place through the breach, but who treated the captured city with mildness, and was satisfied with banishing those who had been

[1] φυγὼν δὲ καὶ μὴ θελήσας κρίσιν ὑποσχεῖν, φευγέτω ἀειφυγίαν.—Plato de Leg.

νηποινεὶ τεθνᾶναι.—Demosth. adv. Aristoc.—Andocid. de Myst.

'Εὰν δὲ ξένος ἀστῇ ξυνοικῇ τέχνῃ ἢ μηχανῇ ἠτινιοῦν, γραφέσθω πρὸς τοὺς Θεσμοθέτας.—Dem. adv. Neær.

τρόπῳ ἢ μηχανῇ ἠτινιοῦν.—Dem. adv. Mid.

'Επιδέκατον.—Harpocrat. in voce. Plutarch de decem Rhet. in Antiph. Xenoph. Hellen. l. 1, c. 7.

πολέμιός ἐσται τῶν 'Αθηναίων καὶ νηποινὶ τεθνάτω· καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια ἔστω καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον.—Andocid. de Myst.

opposed to him[1]. It is probable that the inscription refers to the latter action of the conqueror, and that the Stratocles named in it is the same who harangued the Athenian people from the bema of the Pnyx, and was evidently one of the leaders of the party opposed to Philip. It is no objection to this supposition that the name of Philip does not appear in the edict, since, according to the usual practice of Greek diplomacy, it was the act of the people, though in truth they had lost their liberty, and were never afterwards free from a garrison of Macedonians until they received one of Romans. If this conjecture be well founded, we have the exact date of this inscription, namely, 358 B. C.

The acquisition of Amphipolis by Philip was one of the most important steps in the advancement of Macedonian power, as it opened to him the entrance into Western Thrace, and when added to Datus, which commanded the pass next in importance to that of Amphipolis, caused the whole of that country, as far as the Nestus, to be ever afterwards annexed to the crown of Macedonia. Not the least important consequence of these acquisitions was that of the mines of Mount Pangæum and of Crenides, which was an ancient settlement of the Thasii, in the district of Datus, between Neapolis and Drabescus. Here the ambitious monarch founded a new city, which he called Philippi, and soon extracted from the adjacent mountains five times as much gold and silver as

[1] *τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ἐφυγάδευσε, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις φιλανθρώπως προσηνέχθη.*—Diodor. l. 16, c. 8.

the mines had ever yielded to the Thasii or any other people who had preceded him in working them. Pangæum produced gold as well as silver; but the principal mines of gold were near Crenides, in a hill called, according to Appian, λόφος Διονύσου, or the hill of Bacchus, being probably no other than the mountain where Herodotus informs us that the Satræ possessed an oracle of Bacchus interpreted by the Bessi, and enounced by a priestess, who uttered responses not less ambiguous than those of Delphi. These Satræ seem to have been the original of the Satyræ, as attendants of Bacchus[1].

Amphipolis, as Thucydides remarks, occupied a situation conspicuous both from the sea and the interior country[2]. Being situated at the only convenient passage across the maritime ridge of mountains occurring between the passes of *Aulon* and *Neapolis*, and being at a point which leads immediately into the middle of one of the richest and most extensive plains in Greece, it was naturally the centre of many roads, whence originated the name of Nine Ways, which the place bore when possessed by the Edoni before the Athenian colonization. The site is not less strong in itself than important with regard to the surrounding country. Above the bridge the lake forms a bay at the northern foot of the hill of *Amphipolis*, and below the bridge the river makes a half circle round the hill, which, being very precipitous on that side, is easily accessible only on the side of

[1] V. Apollodor. l. 3, c. 5. καὶ τὴν ἤπειρον.—Thucyd. l. 4,
[2] περιφανῆ ἐς θάλασσάν τε c. 102.

the connecting ridge by which I approached from Orfaná. The annexed sketch will give some idea of the position. It appears from Thucydides that originally a wall across the ridge, resting at either extremity on the river, was the only fortification of the town, and that on the summit of the hill stood a temple of Minerva. This was the state of Amphipolis when in the tenth year of the Peloponnesian war, it was the scene of that celebrated battle which was fatal to the commanders on both sides [1].

[1] Thucyd, l. 5, c. 6, et seq.

Cleon was waiting at Eion for some expected reinforcements of Macedonians and Odomanti, when Brasidas posted himself with a part of his forces on Cerdylium, a mountain in the territory of Argilus, opposite to Amphipolis, from whence all the motions of Cleon could be seen. The remainder of the army of Brasidas was in Amphipolis. His whole Greek force consisted of 2000 hoplitæ and 300 cavalry, but with these were joined about 4000 Thracian infantry and some cavalry. Cleon was about equal in numbers, but he had greatly the advantage in choice troops, having 3000 hoplitæ, with 500 cavalry. As soon as Brasidas perceived that Cleon was advancing towards Amphipolis, he descended from Cerdylium and entered the city in the hope of seizing some advantageous moment of attack before his adversary should be reinforced. Cleon occupied the heights in front of the walls of Amphipolis, across which led the high road: his position commanded a view of the Strymonic lake, and in one part was so high that Brasidas was visible to the Athenians as he sacrificed at the temple of Minerva. The return of Brasidas into the city, together with the sacrifice, had already persuaded Cleon that his adversary was preparing for battle, when he received a report that the feet of men and horses were visible in great numbers under the Thracian gate. As soon as he had convinced himself of this fact with his own eyes, he resolved upon an immediate retreat, for he had moved from Eion without any intention of engaging, and only be-

cause his men murmured at his inaction, there being moreover at that time no appearance of a large force in the city.

Having ordered his troops to move off by the left towards Eion, and soon becoming impatient at their tardiness in executing the movement, he faced also the right of the army in the same direction, by which he exposed their right or uncovered side to the enemy. This was the favourable moment for Brasidas, who had already made his preparations.

Leaving instructions, therefore, with Clearidas, the second in command, to advance from the Thracian gate against the nearest part of the enemy's line, or that which had been their right, as soon as his own intended movement should throw the centre into confusion, he instantly issued at the first gate of the Long Wall at the head of 150 chosen men, ran with them across the space lying between the wall and the high road, and thus fell upon the Athenians as they were marching along the road. The effect of this bold and judicious plan was the flight of the enemy's left, which had become the front in column, towards Eion, as well as the separation of his forces, and finally the defeat of his right, after some resistance on the highest part of the ridge. Cleon, flying at the first attack of Clearidas, was overtaken and slain by a targeteer of Myrcinus, about the same time that Brasidas, successful in the centre, received a mortal wound, unobserved by the enemy, just as he turned from the defeated centre of the Athenians towards their right wing. He was

carried into Amphipolis, and survived only long enough to hear of the completion of his victory. Six hundred men fell on the side of the Athenians, the remainder effected their retreat over the mountain to Eion. No more than seven were slain on the side of Brasidas.

I have already remarked that Cerdylium was evidently the mountain which rises from the right bank of the Strymon, immediately opposite to the hill of Amphipolis; it is equally evident that the position of Cleon was on the opposite side of the city, on the height which connects the hill of Amphipolis with Mount Pangæum, exactly on the pass of the Nine Ways. The Thracian gate probably opened in the direction of the modern route to Dhrama, and to the places in the plain eastward of the *Strymonic* lake, and it stood consequently on the north-eastern side of the ancient site, just at the beginning of the descent towards the lake; in fact, this point is exactly opposite to a rising ground on the ridge of the *Nine Ways* which commands a comprehensive view both of the lake and of the mouth of the *Strymon*, and forms part of an inferior summit in advance of Mount *Pangæum*. Here it is probable that the Athenians made their stand after the flight of Cleon. The gate at which Brasidas issued having been opposite to the centre of the retreating Athenians, and the Thracian gate to their right, which had become their rear, the former was evidently situated to the southward of the latter, and led probably to Phagres and the Pierian valley.

It was in the middle of the winter following the

eighth year of the war, that Brasidas had made himself master of Amphipolis [1]. After having persuaded the people of Acanthus and Stageirus to desert the Athenian alliance, he marched with all the force he could collect from his allies, on a snowy night, from Bromiscus to Argilus, from whence, under the guidance of the Argilii, he proceeded before the morning to the bridge of the Strymon, which he found slightly guarded, and by taking possession of it obtained the disposal of all the property of the Amphipolitans which was not within the city. This circumstance, together with the divided sentiments of the people of various origin who inhabited the city, and particularly of some Argilii who were much disinclined to the Athenians, made the influential persons willing to capitulate; to which Brasidas himself was sufficiently disposed, as he was aware that Thucydides, who commanded an Athenian squadron at Thasus, possessed property in the gold mines of Pangæum, which might give him considerable influence over the neighbouring people, and, if time were allowed, might enable him to excite a formidable opposition.

The capitulation took place accordingly; and it was not until the evening of the same day on which it occurred that Thucydides arrived with his squadron at Eion [2]. Though he thus saved that place from being taken, and deserved no reasonable blame for the loss of Amphipolis, he in-

[1] Thucyd. l. 4, c. 102. [2] Thucyd. l. 4, c. 106.

curred the displeasure of the Athenian people to such a degree that he was banished from Athens for twenty years [1]: a fortunate event for literature, as by forcing him to exchange the public service for a residence on his estate at Scaptesyle, in Mount Pangæum [2], it afforded him ample leisure for composing that κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ, or everlasting legacy, which, as long as the Greek language exists, will be the delight of all readers, and a model of genuine history.

In the time of Brasidas the bridge of the Strymon was probably in the same situation as at present, the same causes tending in all ages to render that position the most convenient, with regard to the external communications of those dwelling on the hill of *Amphipolis*; besides which, it was exactly opposite to the center of the ancient city. Thucydides remarks that in the time of the expedition of Brasidas, the bridge was at a small distance from the city, and that there were not then, as when he wrote his history, walls extending from the city to the river [3]. By this and two other references which he makes to

length it was fortified. Agnon, the founder of the Athenian colony, seems to have been satisfied with building a wall across the isthmus of the peninsula terminating at either end in the river [1], and to have left the western half-circuit of the hill to the natural protection of its precipices. The only addition that appears to have been made to this fortification during the fifteen years which elapsed between the foundation and the battle was a *σταύρωμα*, or pallisading with gates behind the Long Wall, on the most accessible parts of the hill, for Thucydides relates that Brasidas issued through a gate in a pallisading, and then through the first gate in the Long Wall [2]. When the Athenians recovered Amphipolis, they very naturally set about fortifying it more technically. The Long Wall seems, from the words *τότε ὄντος*, employed by Thucydides, to have been neglected or destroyed; the summit of the height was entirely enclosed with walls, of which remains still exist; and all the northern face of the hill, where stands the modern village, was probably included within a wall which terminated at the lake, and comprehended within it the bridge of the Strymon. The road leading from the sea coast into the plains lying eastward of the lake would thus pass under the eastern walls of the city, and that into the western plains through the fortifications and across the bridge.

[1] *ἀπολαβὼν τείχει μακρῷ ἐκ ποταμοῦ ἐς ποταμόν.*—Thucyd. l. 4. c. 102.

[2] *καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα πύλας, καὶ τὰς πρώτας τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους τότε ὄντος ἐξελθών.*—Thucyd. l. 5, c. 10.

Amphipolis was probably in this state when Philip besieged and took it.

The only remains of antiquity in Neokhóri besides the inscription at the fountain, are many scattered blocks of ancient workmanship, and some mnemata, of which one is adorned with figures in low relief, and two others have names only upon them: there is also a plain Doric triglyph between metopes, which is said to have been brought from the Bezestein, a place so called on the summit of the hill, and where are some fragments similar to those in the village. If the triglyph belonged to the temple of Minerva, it was probably of small dimensions.

In the afternoon of November 9, I proceed in 3 hours and 20 minutes to Takhynós[1], the rain falling continually. At 6.10, Turkish time, we cross the bridge of the *Strymon*, which is 300 yards long; then leaving the lake at some distance on the right, pass over downs which are connected with the mountains on the left, pass at 7.20 through a large Greek village called Kutzós[2]; at 8.25 leave Pálutro[3] a quarter of a mile on the

higher up it terminates in marshy ground, through which the river flows to join it; Thucydides has accurately described this lake by the words τὸ λιμνῶδες τοῦ Στρυμόνος[1], as being in fact nothing more than an enlargement of the river, varying in size according to the season of the year, but never reduced to that of the river only, according to its dimensions above and below the lake. Besides the *Strymon*, the *Angitas* contributes to the inundation as well as some other smaller streams from the mountains on either side. I find a civil old Agá at Takhynó, the reverse of him of Neokhóri, though both are Albanians, but they take their tone from their chiefs; so much do the traveller's success and comforts in every part of Turkey depend upon the individual character of the chieftains whom he encounters, and upon accidental circumstances. I should have found no difficulty at *Amphipolis*, if I had proceeded thither from Serrés with a letter from Ibrahím Bey, whose authority is not disputed either in Zikhna or Dhrama, and serves to keep in some order the savage chieftains around him, who lose no opportunity of exercising the cruelest oppression on their Christian fellow subjects. The kazá of Zikhna, which is here separated by the lake from that of Serrés, contains 70 or 80 villages; the largest are Ziliákhova, already mentioned, and Lukovíkia on the side of Mount Pirnári, above Alibassátes.

Nov. 10.—From Takhynó to Serrés. Setting out at 2.40 Turkish, we coast the marshy ground

[1] Thucyd. l. 5, c. 7.

at the head of the lake, then follow the right bank of the *Strymon* along the center of the plain, for 2½ hours, until having arrived nearly abreast of Serrés we turn eastward towards the town, cross the river at 5.55, over a new wooden bridge a mile below a large tjiftlík of Ismaíl Bey, called the Addá tjiftlík, where he has lately built a Serái, and at 7 enter the gate of Serrés. Our pace, though with Menzíl horses, has been slow, on account of the muddy state of the roads after the late rains. The Ramazán begins this evening, and is introduced, as usual, with firing of musquets at sunset, followed by an illumination of all the minarets.

Nov. 11.—Serrés stands in the widest part of the great *Strymonic* plain, on the last slope of the range of mountains which bounds it to the north-east. At a distance the town has a very imposing appearance; its whitened walls, flanked by towers at distant intervals, being not less than three miles in circumference; but they enclose, besides the town, a large space occupied by gardens, and even by meadows, in which cattle are now grazing;

at 15,000 Turks, 5000 Greeks and Bulgarians, and a few families of Jews.

The surrounding plain is very fertile, and besides yielding abundant harvests of cotton, wheat, barley and maize, contains extensive pastures now peopled with oxen, horses and sheep. No part of the land is neglected, and the district, in its general appearance, is not inferior to any part of Europe; though probably neither the agricultural economy nor the condition of the people, would bear a close inspection. To the north-westward, the plain extends about 4 hours to Demirissár (iron castle), which occupies a position similar to that of Serrés, but nearer to the left bank of the *Strymon*, just where it issues from the mountains. A little above the ravines of Demirissár the *Strymon* receives its principal tributary, from Strúmitza to the right, and a smaller contribution on the opposite bank from Meleníko, a large Greek town, 6 hours from Demirissár to the north. The sources of the river are in the highest ridges of *Rhodope* around Dúpnitza and Ghiustendíl. To the Greeks and Bulgarians the river is known by the name of Struma, to the Turks by the very common appellation of Karásu, or Black River.

The lower *Strymonic* valley, which extends from Demirissár to 'Anghista and the site of *Amphipolis*, is the greatest of the *Macedonian* plains, next to that which borders the head of the *Thermaic* Gulf, and if we add to it the levels watered by the tributaries of the *Strymon*, anciently constituting the Angitas, the entire extent is not inferior in magnitude and fertility to those plains of *Lower Macedonia*.

A large portion of that part which is in the district of Serrés, is the private property of Ismaíl Bey and his family, one of the richest and most powerful subjects of the Sultán, if he can be called a subject who is absolute here, and obeys only such of the orders of the Porte as he thinks fit, always, however, with a great show of submission. Besides his landed property he is engaged in commerce, and derives great profits from his farm of the imperial revenues. He has been rapidly increasing in power during the last ten years, and his authority now extends northward to the borders of Sófia and Felibé [1], to the westward to Istíb inclusive, and to the eastward as far as Gumurdjína inclusive. His troops are now fighting with Emín Agá of Haskiúy beyond Gumurdjína, whom he will probably soon reduce. To the southward and westward the summits of the mountains which border the plain, separate his dominions from the district of Saloníki. His forces do not amount to more than 2000 in constant pay, who are chiefly Albanians, but upon occasion he might easily raise 10,000. When he

Christians themselves as a just, attentive governor, and whose extortions are comparatively moderate. Hence his territory presents a more prosperous appearance than any part of Alý Pashá's. The culture of cotton being very advantageous to him, he is anxious to encourage its exportation, in which he is himself engaged, and hence the Greek merchants of Serrés, who carry on an extensive trade with Vienna, enjoy sufficient protection, though personally they are often ignominiously treated by him.

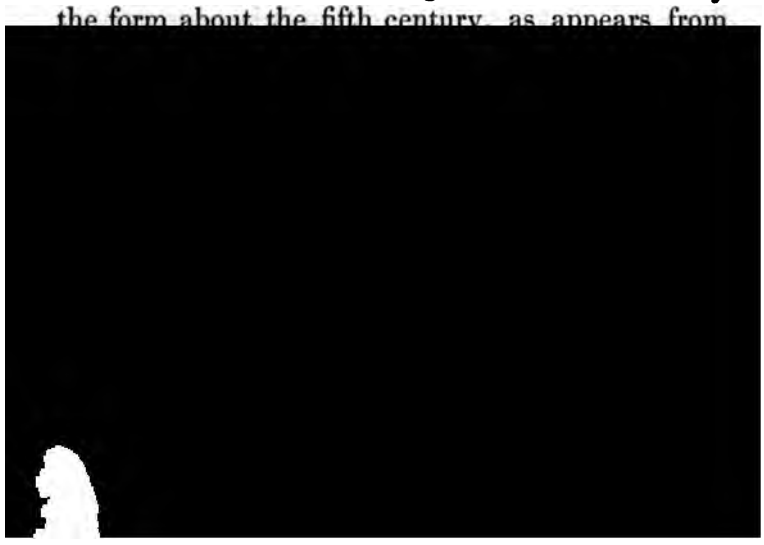
As to the rayáhs in general, it is sufficient to mention one of the labours and exactions imposed upon them, to show their condition even under a governor who has the reputation of being indulgent. Every village is bound to deliver the Bey's tithe of the cotton in a state fit for immediate exportation, that is to say, cleared of the seeds and husks, instead of supplying it as it comes from the field; and even to make good the loss of weight caused by the abstraction of the seeds, by the addition of an equal weight of cleared cotton. The Turks justify this oppression, by alleging that it is customary in all cotton districts; the only kind of answer they ever deign to give, when they are the strongest.

The Bey has four sons, of whom the eldest, Yussúf, carries on all the active business of the government [1], while his father enjoys a rather indolent retirement at the Addá tjiftlík. The Greek

[1] This is the same Yussúf Pashá who distinguished himself in the Greek insurrection as Governor of 'Epakto, and afterwards surrendered Varna, in the year 1828, to the Russians.

community is governed with very little interference from the Bey, by the Greek metropolitan bishop, and the archons, of whom the chief is a Greek merchant, Matáko Dhimitríu, whose brother is established at Saloníki. Another merchant, named Sponty, who acts as consul for several nations, is of a French family long settled in Candia, and here I again meet a Dr. P. of Ioánnina, who after having served for some time as surgeon in the French army of Italy under Bonaparte, narrowly escaped being put to death by Alý at Prévyza on his return: he attended Velý Pashá in the siege of Suli, and was eye-witness to the heroism of the woman Khaïdho, and eight Suliotes, who came disguised into the middle of the Albanian camp in the night, and when discovered the next morning, retreated with such bravery and conduct as to kill or wound 20 Albanians in the retreat, without receiving a hurt.

The bishop is denominated ὁ Σερρῶν, and the modern name Serrés is the Romaic third case of the same word[1]; but though Serræ was already the form about the fifth century, as appears from



which they are combined, are not unfrequent in Macedonian inscriptions of the Roman empire[1].

The only other vestige I can find of the ancient Sirrhæ is on the highest ground within the modern walls, where is a piece of Hellenic wall faced with large quadrangular blocks, but composed within of small stones and mortar, forming a mass of extreme solidity. It now serves for the substruction of the Bash Kule, or principal tower of the modern inclosure, half the height of which is of an intermediate date, between the Hellenic and the recent Turkish. Similar ruined walls of that middle period are to be seen in many parts of the north-eastern quarter of the city. They resemble in construction, and are supposed to be of the same origin, as two ruined fortresses which defended the two passes leading to the valley of Nevrokópo from Serrés and from Drama, and which are attributed to the Servian kings, whose

[1] Οἱ νέοι ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων, ἀρχιερέα δὲ καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην καὶ τῆς Ἀμφιπολειτῶν πόλεως, πρῶτον δὲ ἀγωνοθέτην τῆς Σιρραίων πόλεως, ὃις ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γυμνασίαρχον, Τι. Κλαύδιον, Διογένους υἱὸν, Κυρίνᾳ, Διογένη, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν, ἐπιμεληθέντος Κασσάνδρου τοῦ Κασσάνδρου. —Vide Inscription, No. 126.

Since my visit to Serrés, another inscription has been found near the metropolitan church, in honour of the son of the above-mentioned Diogenes. The following is the copy of it, from the fac-simile of M. Cousinery.

Ἡ πόλις τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τῶν Σεβαστῶν, Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Φλαουιανὸν Λυσίμαχον, υἱὸν Τιβηρίου Κλαυδίου Διογένους, ἀρχιερέως τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων, τὸν ἐν πᾶσιν εὐεργέτην, εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὴν καὶ τῆς διηνεκοῦς φιλοδοξίας, διὰ ἐπιμελητῶν Διοσκουρίδου τοῦ Ποσειδίππου, Πέλοπος Εἰσιδώρου, Εἰσιδώρου Οὐαλεριανοῦ.

dominions comprehended Serrés. Two hours to the north eastward of the city, on the mountain behind it, stands the large monastery of St. Prodromus, which is known to have been founded by Stephen king of Servia, and his brother-in-law John Palæologus, in the middle of the fourteenth century.

The hill of the Bash-kule is protected, towards the mountains, by a torrent flowing in a broad bed, and winding so as to encircle one-third of the town. The elevated situation of this quarter, the Hellenic and Servian remains, and the position of the metropolitan church in the midst of it, show that it was the site of Sirrhæ both in ancient and middle ages. It is now the Varúsi, or part inhabited by the Christians and Jews, the Turks dwelling in the lower or exterior part; towards the western extremity of the latter quarter stands the palace of Ismaíl Bey, which, though extensive and splendid, is not above one-third of the size of Alý Pashá's. From the remains of the Servian walls, it seems evident that the city never covered so much ground as it does at present, and seldom or ever perhaps was

exchange their agricultural produce for manufactures both foreign and domestic, but that to which the natives of a great part of European Turkey resort to obtain raw cotton, for internal consumption, as well as for the manufacture of yarn, which they sell in Hungary and Poland. In favourable years, the Frank and Greek merchants settled here send not less than 30 or 40,000 bales of cotton to Germany by the caravans, and in return supply the Turks with cloths, stuffs, and other European manufactures, but cloth and raw cotton are the basis of the trade.

The principal roads leading from Serrés, besides that of Orfaná, by which I came, are, 1. To Kavála, by Zikhna and Dhrama. 2. To Nevrokópo, directly across the great range of the mountains, which extend northward from Serrés to Meleníko and Nevrokópo, and eastward towards Dhrama ; the circuitous route to Nevrokópo, however, is often preferred, especially in the winter, passing through Zikhna, and falling into the route from Dhrama to Nevrokópo. 3. The northern road. This leads to Demirissár along the foot of the mountain of Serrés, and near Demirissár enters the dervéni, through which that river issues from the mountains. Beyond the pass, the road branches to Meleníko to the right, and to Strúmitza to the left. 4. To Doghirán ; this road crosses the mountain which rises from the western side of the plain of Serrés, by a pass which is seen from the city, bearing by compass N. 63 W. 5, 6. There are two routes to Saloníki, the more direct crossing the range of mountains

on the south-western side of the plain, by a village called Lakhaná, and from thence descending into the vale of Langazá. The other, more easterly, traverses a continuation of the same range of mountains, and joins the great route from Constantinople at Klisalí, to the eastward of Langazá.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MACEDONIA.

Ancient Geography of the *Strymonic* Plain and surrounding Mountains—*Battle of Philippi*—Nigríta—Sokhó—Klisalí—Lakes—Langazá—Khaivát—Saloníki—Antiquities, Population, &c.

Although Stephanus distinguishes the Siris which gave name to the Siro-pæones, from Sirrha, they were assuredly one and the same place, for that the Siro-pæones inhabited the banks of the Strymon is clear from Herodotus[1], and that they did not dwell above the dervéni of Demirissár may also be inferred from the historian, when he states, that Xerxes left a part of his sick at Siris in his retreat to the Hellespont[2]; for it is not conceivable that a place could have been chosen for that purpose, so far and inconveniently removed from the direct route of the army, as any position above the Straits of Demirissár would have been. The same inference may be drawn from Livy, who relates that P. Æmilius Paullus, after his victory at Pydna, received at Siræ a deputation from Perseus who had retired to Samothrace[3]. As Siræ is

[1] Herodot. l. 5, c. 13, 15, 98. [2] L. 8, c. 115.
[3] Liv. l. 45, c. 4.

here described by Livy as a city of the Odomantice, it seems evident that the Odomanti bordered on the Siro-Pæones, and that in the reign of Perseus they were in possession of this city [1]. The Odomanti, therefore, probably occupied the great mountain which extends along the north-eastern side of the lower *Strymonic* plain from about Meleníko and Demirissár nearly to *Pangæum*, their vicinity to which latter mountain is rendered probable by their having been one of the three tribes who worked its mines, the two others having been the Pieres and Satræ [2], the former of whom dwelt on the southern side of the mountain, the latter to the eastward of it. It was very natural that Megabyzus should have subdued the Siropæones, who possessed the most fertile and exposed part of the Strymonic plain, while the Odomanti, who were secure in a higher situation, and still more the Agrianes, who dwelt at the sources of the Strymon, were able to avoid or resist him, as well as the Doberes, and the other Pæones of Mount Pangæum, and the amphibious inhabitants of the lake Prasias [3].

lake of Besíkia, chiefly perhaps because Herodotus describes the lake Prasias as confining on certain mines, which afterwards produced to Alexander I. a talent a day[1], and which were separated only from Macedonia by Mount Dysorum; whence D'Anville, who must have known from the travels of Belon of the existence of the mines of Sidherokápsa, may have supposed those to have been the mines in question, and consequently that the neighbouring lake was the Bolbe. But on comparing Herodotus with Arrian, it is impossible to accede to this opinion. The former relates that the inhabitants of the lake Prasias procured the piles and planks with which they constructed their dwellings in the lake, from Mount Orbelus, whence it may be presumed that the lake was contiguous to Orbelus, and Arrian clearly shews Orbelus to have been the great mountain which, beginning at the Strymonic plain and lake, extends towards the sources of the Strymon, where it unites with the summit called Scomius, in which the river had its origin[2], for in describing the expedition of Alexander the Great against the Triballi, Arrian remarks that Alexander in marching from Amphipolis to the Nestus, had Philippi and Mount Orbelus on his left[3]. Indeed, a comparison alone of the passage of Herodotus, in which he mentions the extent of the conquests of Megabyzus with that

[1] Consistently with this remark of Herodotus, we find that the tetradrachms of Alexander I. are some of the earliest coins, of that size, in the Macedonian series.

[2] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 96. — Aristot. Meteor. l. 1, c. 13.

[3] Arrian. De Exp. Alex. l. 1, c. 1.

in which he describes the march of Xerxes through Picria and Pæonia, seems to leave no doubt as to the Prasias; for in the latter he states that the Doberes and Pæoplæ inhabited the country northward of Mount Pangæum [1], these being precisely the tribes whom he had before associated with the inhabitants of the lake Prasias. In reference to the former passage it may incidentally be remarked, that as the people who were able to resist Megabyzus were the mountaineers and the dwellers on the lake, the Pæoplæ like the Siropæones, probably occupied some portion of the plain which was not exactly on the banks of the lake. The Doberes seem to have shared Mount Pangæum with the Pæonians and Pieres, and dwelt probably on the northern side of it, where in the time of the Roman Empire there was a mutatio, or place for changing horses, called Domeros, between Amphipolis and Philippi, 13 M.P. from the former, and 19 M.P. from the latter[2]. As to Mount Dysorum, if we suppose Herodotus to have referred not so much to the Macedonia of the reign of Amyntas, when Mega-

mountain towards the modern Sokhó, may have been the ancient Dysorum. That the Bisaltæ, before they were annexed to the kingdom of Macedonia, possessed silver mines, may be strongly presumed from the tetradrachm with the legend ΒΙΣΑΛΤΙΚΟΝ [1].

[1] V. Hunter, Tab. 13. IV. To the same cause may be attributed the existence of the coins of Ossa, an otherwise obscure town of Bisaltia (Ptolemy, l. 3, c. 13.) at a time when the royal coinage was very insignificant. When the kings had made themselves masters of Bisaltia and the other argentiferous districts, the silver coinage still bore a great resemblance to the autonomous money, though it was naturally inscribed only with the name of the monarch. At the time when the Bisaltic coins were struck, the mines of Pangæum were chiefly in the hands of the Thasii, who had also silver mines of their own, and hence the beauty and abundance of the early money of Thasus. The other people who, according to Herodotus, worked the mines of Pangæum, were the Pieres and Odomanti, but particularly the Satræ, who bordered on the mountain. None of their money has reached us, but to the Pangæan silver mines we may trace a large coin of Geta, king of the Edoni, lately published by Mr. Millingen, the characters on which perfectly agree with the time when the Edoni possessed Drabescus and the Nine Ways, and had therefore the power of working some of the mines. It is to some unknown places or people in the same argentiferous districts, that we may attribute a class of coins inscribed ΟΡΡΗΣΚΙΟΝ or ΩΡΗΣΚΙΩΝ, and ΓΕΤΑΙΟΝ not ΛΕΤΑΙΩΝ, as has been supposed by a mistake of the ancient form of the Gamma for a Λ, which would refer these coins to Lete of Mygdonia. The resemblance of the more ancient coins of the Orescii to those of Geta, king of the Edoni is very remarkable. The smaller and more modern, inscribed ΩΡΗΣΚΙΩΝ, have the same type as those of the ΓΕΤΑΙΟΝ, namely, a satyr carrying off a nymph. They seem therefore all to belong to Edonis or its vicinity; the Satyrs were the Satræ and refer to the worship of Bacchus in the mountains Pangæum and Orbelus. (Herodot. l. 7, c. 111, v. 970.—Eurip. in

Being here so near the interesting scene of one of the most importnt amilitary occurrences in history, where two hundred thousand Roman infantry and thirty-three thousand cavalry were encamped, and twice in the course of a few days engaged in general combat[1], I cannot avoid making a few remarks on the topography of that event, more with a view to the convenience of future travellers than with the hope of throwing much light upon the historians, as I have never visited Philippi myself. But the general features of the country are not unknown to me, and the site of Philippi is perfectly ascertained by considerable remains of antiquity in the situation indicated by the Itineraries, and which are known by the Greeks to be those of Philippi; by the Turks the place is called Felibedjík[2].

Rhes. et Hecub. v. 1267.—Pomp. Mela, l. 2, c. 2,) concerning which Apollodorus (l. 3, c. 5.) has left us some traditions, showing the connexion between the kings of the Edoni and the fables of Bacchus and the Satyrs. The Orescii probably inhabited the mountains above Drabescus, in which was the oracle of Bacchus, one of whose epithets was ὀρέστιος.—(Anthol. vol. iii. p. 217, Jac.) It is remarkable, with a general reference to the silver coins of Macedonia and Thrace, how large a portion of them belonged to places in the vicinity of silver mines. To those just mentioned, may be added the coins of Acanthus, Neapolis, Tragilus, Ossa, Bisaltia, Philippi, and those inscribed Μακεδόνων πρώτης, which were struck at Amphipolis after the Roman conquest. In like manner, we trace the gold coins of Philip to his extensive elaboration of the mines of Crenides.

[1] Appian de B. C. l. 4, c. 101, et seq. Dion. Cass. l. 47, c. 1, et seq. Plutarch. in Brut.

[2] Filippópoli, which takes its name from the same king of Macedonia as Philippi, is named Felibé by the Turks,

When the army of Cassius and Brutus was advancing from Asia along maritime Thrace, and their fleet had occupied several positions on that coast, Norbanus, who was in possession of the two principal passes, called the Stena of the Corpili and the Stena of the Sapæi, thought it prudent to abandon the former for the better defence of the latter. The Corpili occupied the country near Ænus[1], whence it is evident their passes were those of the mountains terminating in the promontory Serrium[2], and lying between the valley of the Hebrus and the maritime plains, in which the chief city was Abdera. Into the latter plains Cassius and Brutus led their army after having traversed Ænus, Doriscus, and the abandoned Stena of the Corpili; but they found themselves at a loss to proceed farther, because the Sapæan passes which separated the plains of Abdera and of the river Nestus from those of Philippi and the Strymon were still in the hands of the enemy. In this emergency, by the advice of the Thracian prince Rhescuporis, a road was made, not without great labour, through some woody mountains which are interposed between the maritime plains and the valley of the Harpessus, a branch of the Hebrus: a three days' march then conducted the Cassian army to the Harpessus, from whence there was only a single day's march to Philippi.

Felibedjik therefore is little Philippópoli.

[1] Stephan. in Κορπιλοί. Solin. c. 10.

[2] Herodot. l. 7, c. 59. Appian. de B. C. l. 4. c. 101, 102.

The *Harpessus* can be no other than the branch of the Marítza, or *Hebrus*, which flows through the valley of Arda. If then we suppose the camp of Cassius to have been near the modern Gumerdjína, which is about the centre of the maritime plains lying between the passes of the *Corpili* and those of the *Sapæi*, it would seem that the road to the *Harpessus* followed for a considerable distance the valley of the Kurutjái, which from Herodotus seems to have been anciently called Travus [1]. From the valley of the Harpessus to Philippi, the route of Cassius was nearly in the modern track from Adrianople to Serrés, which from the sources of the Arda crosses the valley of the *Nestus* and enters the plain of *Philippi* at Dhrama. When Philippi was the chief city in the plain, the road led probably more directly upon that point.

Appian thus describes Philippi and the position on which Cassius and Brutus encamped. The city, he says, was called Datus before the time of Philip, and still earlier Crenides, from numerous sources around the site, which formed a river and

that of Bacchus, which contained the gold mines called Asyla, and eighteen stades from the town were two other heights eight stades asunder, on the northern of which Brutus placed his camp, and on the southern Cassius: that of Brutus was protected on the right by rocky hills, and the left of the camp of Cassius by a marsh. The river Gangas, or Gangites, flowed along the front, and the sea was in the rear. The camps of the two leaders, although separate, were inclosed within a common entrenchment, and midway between them was the pass which led like a gate from Europe into Asia [1]. The triremes were at Neapolis, seventy stades distant, and the magazines of provisions in the island of Thasus distant 100 stades.

Dio adds, that Philippi stood near Pangæum and Symbolum, and that Symbolum, which was between Philippi and Neapolis, was so called because it connected Pangæum with another mountain which stretched inland [2], by which description *Symbolum* is very clearly identified with the ridge which stretches from Právista to Kavála, separating the bay of Kavála from the plain of *Philippi*. The Pylæ, therefore, could

[1] τὸ δὲ μέσον τῶν λόφων, τὰ ὀκτὼ στάδια, δίοδος ἦν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπην καθάπερ πύλαι.—Appian de B. C. l. 4, c. 106.

[2] ἄστυ τοῦτο (sc. Philippi) παρά τε τῷ Παγγαίῳ καὶ τῷ Συμβόλῳ κεῖται· Σύμβολον γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ὀνομάζουσι, καθ' ὃ τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἐς μεσόγειαν ἀνατείνοντι συμβάλλει, καὶ ἔστι μεταξὺ Νέας πόλεως καὶ Φιλίππων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἀντιπέρας Θάσου ἦν· ἡ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ πεδίῳ πεπόλισται.—Dion. Cass. l. 47, c. 35.

have been no other than the pass over that mountain behind Kavála, which being the commencement of the *Sapæan* straits, extending eastward from thence about twenty miles along the abrupt maritime termination of the mountain as far as the valley of the *Nestus*, was in this sense a gate in the great route of communication between Europe and Asia. Norbanus, on hearing of the movement of the enemy upon Philippi, first evacuated that post, and soon afterwards Symbolum, from whence he retired to Amphipolis. By the possession of Symbolum the Cassians secured a ready communication with the sea, and at the same time obtained security for their foraging decursions in the plains [1].

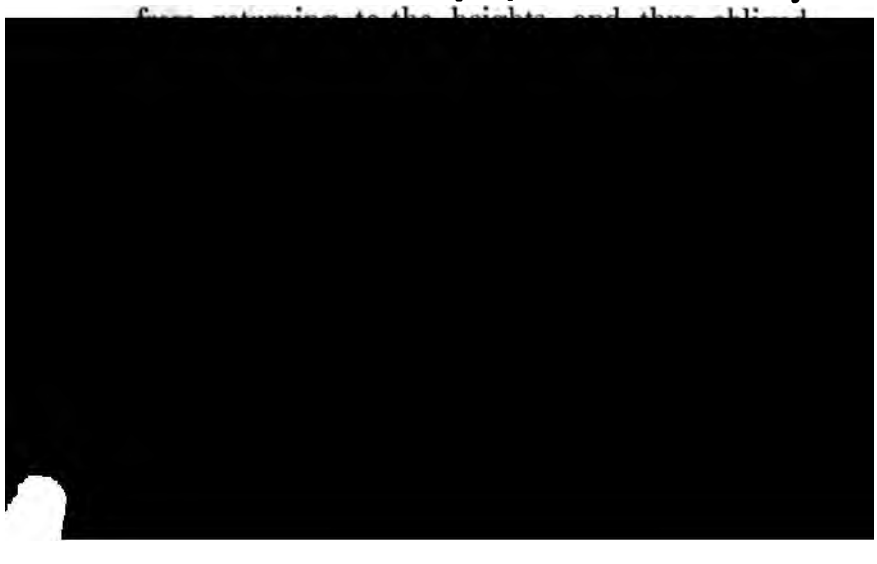
Antony, having arrived at Amphipolis, proceeded immediately to encamp in the plain at a distance of only eight stades from the enemy [2], where he fortified his camp with entrenchments and redoubts, and excavated wells which in that marshy plain produced an abundance of water. His own position was on the right, opposite to that

ment in the rear of Cassius; and in order to facilitate this enterprise, he consumed ten days in constructing a causeway across the marsh which separated him from the camp of Cassius. He proceeded with such caution, that the work was considerably advanced towards completion when it was first perceived by Cassius, who could then only erect countervallations to impede the enemy's progress when he should have crossed the marsh. An attempt upon these works of Cassius by Antony brought on a general action, in which the troops of Brutus defeated those of Cæsar opposed to them, and entered his camp, while Antony forced the works of Cassius near the marsh, routed his legions, and took possession of his camp. Cassius retired to the heights of Philippi[1], to obtain a view of the combat, and there put an end to his life. The loss of the Cassians was 8000, that of Cæsar and Antony twice as many.

Antony was now distressed for provisions and apprehensive of being left totally destitute in consequence of the superiority of his adversaries at sea, which had been increased by the loss of a Cæsarian convoy in the Ionian sea under Domitius Calvinus. He therefore led forth his army every day, with the hope of bringing on a second and more decisive battle; but Brutus being too cautious to afford him this advantage, he pursued his original object of intercepting his adversary's supplies, and with this view occupied with four

[1] ἐς τὸν Φιλίππων λόφον.—Appian, c. 113. Plutarch. in Brut.

legions a height which had been a part of the position of Cassius, but which Brutus had abandoned. From thence he advanced ten more legions five stades towards the sea, and four stades farther two others. Brutus opposed him by similar movements, as well as by constructing redoubts, and it was not until after repeated insults, both by words and by throwing writings into the camp of Brutus, that the legions of the latter losing all patience, obliged their commander, very much against his inclination, to meet the enemy in the plain. It was the ninth hour of the day when the meeting took place; the shock was terrible[1], and the conflict obstinate; but at length the Cæsarians, who were superior in numbers, who knew that they were in imminent danger of starvation, and who were conscious that they had gained an advantage in inducing the enemy to give up his advantage of position, turned him to flight, and seizing the gate of the camp, as they had been directed in the previous harangues of Octavianus and Antony, prevented the enemy



rally to be attributed to the author's personal want of knowledge of the scene of action, and his misapprehension of the information of others. Future travellers may perhaps be able to explain the causes of the discrepancy which occurs in the present instance, on comparing the history with the scene of action, and to which I shall presently advert. If, however, the opinion be admitted, that the pass leading over the mountain from the plain of *Philippi* to Kavála was the *Pylæ*, which separated the camp of Brutus from that of Cassius, the topography will be found in perfect agreement with the narrative. The camp of Brutus, in that case, extended to the right of the entrance of the pass towards *Philippi*, that of Cassius to the left of it towards Právista. The river *Gangas*, which rises at and around *Philippi* flows nearly parallel to the position in front; and northward of Právista there is a lake or inundation corresponding to that which lay between the camps of Cassius and Antony in the first position. Here alone, in the season when the battle was fought[1], a marsh is likely to have existed, such as Appian describes.

The movement of Antony, which had been his design from the beginning, had the advantage of being on that flank of the enemy which was nearest his own post of *Amphipolis*, and it became more easy of execution when he had obtained possession of the heights near Právista, after the death of Cassius. As in endeavouring to effect this object, a part of his legions had advanced

[1] The autumn of 42, B. C.

nine stades nearer to the sea, his position seems then to have been about Právista, from thence extending towards Kavála; a great part if not all the forces of Brutus were at the same time upon the heights, but when he was induced by the importunity of his followers to risk a general action, both parties descended again into the plain.

The difficulty is, that Appian in stating that the camps of Brutus and Cassius were distant 18 stades from Philippi, and 70 from Neapolis, shews that the position was much nearer to *Philippi* than to Kavála, which does not accord with the pass over the mountain of Kavála. It would seem, therefore, either that the numbers expressing the distances have been reversed in the text of Appian, for in that case they would represent the two intervals with sufficient correctness, or that there was a movement, which Appian has omitted to notice, from the first encampment of Brutus and Cassius into the position which they occupied previously to the first battle. The latter supposition is countenanced by Dio, who states that by the acquisition

battle extended from that pass as a centre, and occupied all the heights from near *Philippi* as far as Právista. We are the more justified in suspecting some inaccuracy in Appian, as he evidently had not a correct knowledge of the country; he supposed the marshes in the plain of Philippi to have extended, if not to the sea, at least to no great distance from it[1]; and he seems, therefore, not to have been aware that the plain is entirely separated from the sea by a range of hills, and in no part approaches the coast within several miles. In another error his text only may, perhaps, be to blame; he represents the distance between the camp of Antony and Amphipolis to have been 350 stades, whereas that was the entire length of the lower Strymonic plain, as indeed he had before correctly stated. Dio also, although generally well informed, makes on this occasion an observation which is at least inaccurate. He says, that while Norbanus and Saxa were intent on occupying the shortest route over the Sapæan mountains, their opponents took the circuit by Crenides, and so arrived at Philippi, as if Crenides and Philippi were not one and the same place, as we are assured by Appian, and several other authorities[2].

It is not so easy, however, to admit with Appian, that it was the same place also as Datus. The "good things" which made Datus the subject

[1] πρὸς τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ (τῶν Φιλίππων) ἕλος ἐστὶ καὶ θάλασσα μετ' αὐτό.—c. 105.

[2] Artemidorus, ap. Stephan. in Κρηνίδες et Φίλιπποι.—Strabo (Epit. l. 7), p. 331.—Diodor. l. 16, c. 3.

of a proverb[1] could not have been complete if it had not been a sea-port, as Strabo intimates Datus to have been[2]; whence I am inclined to believe that Datus was the same place as Neapolis. Scylax indeed distinguishes them, but as he adds that Datus was an Athenian colony, which could not have been true of the original Datus, a place much more ancient than the earliest settlements of the Athenians in Thrace, his text perhaps is corrupt in this place, as in so many others, and his real meaning may have been, that Neapolis was a colony which the Athenians had established *at* Datus. Zenobius and Eustathius both assert that Datus was a colony of Thasus[3], which is highly probable, as the Thasii had several colonies on the coast opposite to their island, whereas there is every reason to believe that the Athenians had no footing in Thrace until after the reduction of Thasus, which did not occur till the year B. C. 463, nor any permanent establishment until the foundation of Amphipolis by Agnon, 26 years afterwards, their previous attempts having been unsuccessful[4]. If Neapolis

been one of the Thasian colonies, and of such antiquity as to be mentioned by Homer [1], is more likely than Datus to have occupied the position in which the colony of Neapolis was afterwards settled, but Æsyme still existed under that name in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, when, together with Galepsus, it surrendered to Brasidas [2]. It was afterwards called Emathia, as we learn from Stephanus, and Livy mentions it under that name, as having, with Amphipolis and other towns of the Thracian coast, shut its gates against the Romans under the consul Hostilius in the Persic war, B. C. 170 [3].

As Gangas, or Gangites, or (according to the text of Herodotus) Angitas, was the name attached to the river which rises at *Philippi*, it follows that the branch from Nevrokópo was the *Zygactes*, which agrees perfectly with the circumstance related by Appian, that many of the defeated followers of Brutus retreated to the mountains by the valley of the Zygactes. It was in fact the only route towards the interior open to them. Although this stream is much longer if not larger than the Angitas, Herodotus shows that the united river took its name from the branch of Philippi.

Nov. 12.—Recrossing in an hour from Serrés the bridge of the Karasú, we arrive in 2 hours more at Nigríta ; the road throughout traverses a rich plain, covered with corn or cotton fields, and enlivened by numerous cattle, farms, and small villages. Tobacco is not grown in this part of the

[1] Il. Θ. v. 304.
[2] Thucyd. l. 4, c. 107.
[3] Liv. l. 43, c. 7.

Strymonic plain, but Dhrama produces a considerable quantity of it. Nigríta is a large Greek village, situated immediately opposite to Serrés to the S.W. on the downs which form the last slope of the parallel range of mountains. It is divided only by a space of a few hundred yards from another village of the same description, named Serpa or Tjerpa. A mile farther westward, is a third collection of houses, inhabited chiefly by Turks, and named Tjérpista [1]. An hour and a half to the eastward of Nigríta, and similarly situated at the foot of the mountain, stands Zervokhóri, a small village where the peasants find, in ploughing the ground, great numbers of ancient coins. Those found near Nigríta are almost equally numerous, and it seems evident that both these places were ancient sites. Of those which are brought to me by the people of Nigríta for sale, the greater number by far, like those I procured at Serrés, are Macedonian, and of all dates, from Philip, father of Alexander, to a late period of the Greek Empire. Those earlier than Philip are extremely rare.

as Heracleia of the Strymon[1]. 2. The Sintice was to the right of the Strymon, for Livy informs us that when Macedonia was divided into four provinces at the Roman conquest, Sintice was associated with Bisaltia in the first Macedonia, of which the capital was Amphipolis, while all the remaining parts of the country between the Strymon and Axius, were attributed to the second Macedonia, of which the capital was Thessalonica[2]. 3. The position of Zervokhóri agrees with that which the Tabular Itinerary ascribes to Heracleia relatively to Philippi, as indicated on two different Roman roads from the one city to the other; one measuring 55 M.P. the other 52 M.P. and both sufficiently corresponding to the 37 G.M. of direct distance between the site of *Philippi* and Zervókhori. There can be little doubt that one of these roads passed round the northern, the other round the southern side of the lake. On the former, the names and distances are Philippi, 12 M.P. Drabescus, 8 M.P. Strymon, 13 M.P. Sarxa, 18 M.P. Scotussa, 4 M.P. Heracleia,—total, 55 M.P.; where Strymon corresponds exactly to the crossing of the river of Nevrokópo, which D'Anville, influenced perhaps by this authority, although directly opposed to that of Herodotus, supposed to be the real *Strymon*. *Sarxa* answers equally well to Zikhna[3], and Scotussa to the place where the Strymon was crossed just above the lake. The southern road was as

[1] Ἡράκλεια Στρυμόνος. Hierocl. p. 639. Wess.

[2] Liv. l. 45, c. 29.—Diodor. Fragm. 27.

[3] The true ancient name perhaps more nearly resembled Zikhna.

follows: Philippi, 10 M.P. Triulo, 17 M.P. Graero, 8 M.P. Euporia, 17 M.P. Heracleia,—total, 52 M.P. Here the distance of Euporia from Heracleia combined with the name, seems to indicate that it stood at a ferry across the lake, perhaps at the spot where the lake first begins to narrow, 3 or 4 miles to the north-westward of Amphipolis, but more probably on the western side of the lake, because Euporia is named by Ptolemy among the towns of Bisaltia, together with Ossa and Argilus, whence it may be farther conjectured that the river which I before noticed as joining the *Strymon* a little below the bridge of Neokhório or *Amphipolis*, is the ancient Bisaltes [1].

In reference to the place, which the Itinerary indicates by the evidently corrupted name Triulo, it is a remark of M. Cousinery, who resided many years as French consul at Saloníki, that coins with the inscription TPAIΛION are not unfrequently found near Amphipolis [2], whence the conjecture may be admitted, that Triulo is a corruption of Trælio. The real name, however, I suspect

ΛΙΟΝ of the coin may represent the Hellenic Τραγιλίων. The Triulo of the Table would then only require to be corrected into Trailo. *Tragilus*, in this case, stood on the foot of Mount *Pangæum*, opposite to *Philippi*. The real name of the place 8 M.P. eastward of Euporia, which in the Table is written Graero, I take to have been Gazorus, which we learn from Stephanus to have been a Macedonian town, and from Ptolemy that it was in the land of the Edoni[1]. *Gazorus*, therefore, probably stood between *Tragilus* and *Euporia*, towards the north western end of Mount *Pangæum*. *Berga* being placed by Ptolemy on the borders of the Edoni, as well as near the Odomanti, who, in his time, occupied Sirrhæ and Scotussa, seems to have been near the shore of the Strymonic lake, perhaps near the modern Takhynó. Scymnus describes it as lying inland from the mouth of the Strymon[2]. If Zervokhóri be the site of *Heracleia Sintica*, it is probable that a considerable district to the northward of that place and to the right of the *Strymon* was also included in the *Sintice*, and consequently that Nigríta was either *Tristolus* or *Parthicopolis*, for these are the only two towns, besides Heracleia, which Ptolemy ascribes to the Sintice.

Nov. 13.—At 6.25 Turkish, we begin to ascend the mountain, which rises from Nigríta, through a region of corn land, at the end of an hour enter a forest, here chiefly consisting of small

[1] Stephan. in voc.—Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.

[2] Berga was the native place of Antiphanes, a writer who dealt so much in the marvellous as to give rise to the verb βεργαΐζειν. — Strabo, p. 47, 100, 104.—Stephan. in Βέργη.

oaks, which covers all this range of hills, and at 9.35 reach Sokhó [1], called by the Turks Súkha, a large village inhabited chiefly by Greeks, and standing in an elevated situation on the southern side of the mountain, under one of the summits. It commands an extensive prospect over the valley included between the mountains on which Sokhó stands, and the parallel range which stretches from Mount Khortiátzi [2], above Saloníki to the mountain of Nízvoro. Above the middle of the latter ridge appears the peaked summit named Solomón, which falls to the *Singitic* and *Toronaic* gulfs, and by its prolongation forms the peninsula of *Sithonia*, which separates those two gulfs. Three lakes are seen from Sokhó, that of Langazá, towards Mount Khortiátzi, that of Besíkia in the same great valley, to the eastward, and nearly at the same distance as the last lake, in a south-easterly direction from Sokhó that of Mávrovo. The last, which is situated in a valley surrounded by mountains, is considerably the smallest of the three lakes, and is said to be dry in summer. Some scattered fragments of Hellenic times on the

Lakhaná, on the northern road from Serrés to Saloníki, which being similarly situated on the crest of the same ridge of mountains, may have some claim to be considered the site of *Ossa*.

I lodge at Sokhó, in the house of the Greek proestós Kharíso, who prefixes to his name the Turkish title Hadjí because he has been at Jerusalem. The side of the mountain sloping from the village is covered with vineyards, below which there is a fertile undulated country falling to the plain of Besíkia, into which we descend.

Nov. 14.—this morning, through a pleasant country composed of corn-fields interspersed among groves, copses, single trees, and numerous hamlets inhabited entirely by Turks, many of whom we meet on their road to the market at Sokhó with their wool and corn. Klisalí, where we arrive in three hours and a half from Sokhó, is a miserable Turkish village on the last slope of the mountain, where it terminates in a plain lying between the lakes of Besíkia and of Aio Vasíli, or Langazá. The town of Besíkia stands on the northern side of the eastern lake, opposite to Pazarúdhi. It is perhaps the site of the town *Bolbe*[1]. The plain, with its two lakes, is included, as I before stated, between the ridge of Sokhó and that of Khortiátzi, and is closed at the eastern end by the meeting of the two ranges, which are there separated only by the pass of *Aulon*, or *Arethusa*. A stream flows out of the lake of Besíkia, through the pass of *Arethusa* to the *Stry-*

[1] Stephan. in Βόλβη.

monic Gulf. As the ancient authors indicate only one lake in this situation named Bolbe, it is likely that they were distinguished as the upper and lower Bolbe. Both now abound in a variety of fish, among which, as in general in the waters of Greece having a current, is the λάβραξ, or perch, now called λαμπράκι; the gastronomic poet often cited by Athenæus, particularly admired the perch of this lake as well as those of Ambracia and Calydon [1].

Klisalí being a post-station on the main route to Constantinople, we here change our horses supplied by the menzíl of Serrés, and at 7.50, Turkish time, pursue the foot of the hills, leaving on the right several small Turkish villages. At 8.30 the eastern extremity of the lake of Aio Vasíli is one mile and a half on the left, and near it a Turkish village named Doánji Oglú. The woody sides of the mountain of Khortiátzi rise steeply from the opposite shore of the lake, and beyond the western end of the lake assume a south-westerly direction At 9.10 we are opposite

hospitable. At 10.30 the hot baths of Langazá are half a mile on the right of the road. Here are two old buildings, in the Turkish style, one of which is in ruins, the other still in use. It consists of two apartments covered with domes, of which the outer is used for dressing, and the inner is the bath, where the hot source is received into a large marble basin surrounded with seats, and overflows into the outer apartment. The water is almost tasteless, and of a very moderate degree of heat: close by, there is another hot source rising amidst a great quantity of black mud, into which patients plunge up to their necks for the cure of rheumatism and other chronic complaints, and afterwards wash in the neighbouring water-bath. Close to the baths there is a fine source of cold water. A mile beyond the baths, and two or three hundred yards on the right of the road, rises an artificial height with a flat top, and covered with fragments of pottery. There is another hill of the same description at the foot of the northern range, opposite to Demíglara, beyond which village the plain of Langazá terminates in a peaked rocky summit called Strézi, on either side of which there is a passage over some lofty downs into the great plain of *Thessalonica*. Half an hour from the baths we leave on the right Bálzina, and then a mile farther from our road Demíglara, both considerable villages, inhabited by Christians. Around these places the valley widens. We now enter a boghaz, or narrow glen, leading from the valley of Langazá into the plain of Saloníki. At the entrance some re-

mains of a wall constructed of mortar and small stones, are seen on the slope of either hill; the pass, however, of which these works formed the defence, although remarkable, is not very important, as the passage over the hills on either side is easy, particularly to the north. Towards the middle of the pass, on a small rock by the side of the paved road, the word ΟΛΠΑΙ is engraved in large letters on the rock. Olpæ may perhaps have been the name of the pass, derived from ἐλπὶς, *Æolicè* ὀλπὶς, in allusion to the expectation which the traveller feels of being quickly gratified by a view of the maritime plain and sea, and by the speedy termination of his journey.

At the issue of the glen stand Khaivát on the right and Láina on the left. The latter is very small, but Khaivát contains a large church and 300 cottages, inhabited by Bulgarian Christians, a people which occupies, with the exception of two or three large Greek villages, all the great maritime plain of *Lower Macedonia*. Few of the women in the Bulgarian villages can speak

the mountains to the north and west with snow, and this morning a strong gale from that direction brings frost with it. At a well and large plane tree, a little below the village, lies a marble inscribed with characters of a good time, but containing only names[1]. In half an hour we descend into the plain of Saloníki, and winding to the left along the foot of the range of Khortiátzi, enter at the end of another hour the Turkish cemetery which surrounds the city, and which contains many fragments of columns and sori dispersed among the tomb-stones. The city walls towards their foundations, are in part composed of ancient marbles, and there is every appearance of their having followed the ancient line. At the end of an hour and three quarters from Khaivát, we enter the Vardár-kápesi, or gate of the Vardhári. In a tree before it hangs the body of a robber. Just within the gate the street is crossed by an ancient arch about 14 feet wide, supported by pilasters, which are buried apparently to half their original height. Below the capital of each pilaster, on the western side, a Roman togatus is represented in relief, standing before a horse. The frize above the arch is decorated with the caput bovis united by festoons. The whole construction consists of large masses of stone, but the monument could

[1] V. Inscription, No. 127. At Saloníki I saw a sepulchral monument said to have been brought from Khaivát, which represents in relief a woman seated, and three young men standing before her with their right arms in their cloaks. Below are the words, *Λέοντι καὶ Νεικοπόλι τοῖς τέκνοις Στρατονείκη καὶ Νεικόλαος αὐτῷ.*—V. Inscription, No. 129.

never have been very magnificent, and appears hardly worthy of the time of Antony and Octavius, to which it is attributed by Beaujour, who supposes it to have been a triumphal memorial of the victory of Philippi. Nor does an inscription below the arch which contains the names of the eight archons in whose magistracy the monument was erected seem to favour his opinion, as the names are chiefly Roman, which they would hardly have been at so early a period. They are styled Politarchæ, as when St. Paul visited Thessalonica [1], 93 years after the battle of Philippi. Two of these magistrates were the gymnasiarch and the tamias [2].

Nov. 17.—In the evening (being the proper time during the Ramazán) I visit Musá (Moses) Pashá. This is the same gentleman whom I saw in exile at 'Epakto, cooking his piláf with oil for want of

[1] *ἔσυρον τὸν Ἰάσονα καί τινας ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολειτάρχας, ... Ἐτάραξαν δὲ τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τοὺς πολειτάρχας.*— The name of Cleopatra, the mother of Sosipatrus, may perhaps have preceded that of his Roman father, because she was

butter, and stealing our consul's wood. Since that time he has been in Egypt, whither he was sent to supersede Mehmét Alý, who was ordered by the Porte, on the plea of his being a Macedonian, to exchange the government of Egypt for that of Saloníki. Mehmét Alý, however, was not to be displaced so easily. Musá Pashá had chiefly founded his hopes of success on the dehlís in Mehmét's guard, the chiefs of whom were his friends and formerly in his service, and attributes his failure to the Kapitán Pashá, whom he accuses of having been bribed by Mehmét Alý to delay a march to Cairo, which had been concerted with Elfi and four other Mamlúk beys, until it was rendered impracticable by the rising of the Nile. Musá's troops had a skirmish with Mehmét Alý's, but without any advantage on either side. The Porte, convinced that their project had failed, ordered Musá to assume the government of Saloníki, and the Kapitán Pashá to return to Constantinople with his fleet. Musá came with the fleet as far as Cos. He affirms that Mehmét's forces amount only to 4000 Albanians and 5000 others, that he is detested for his oppressions, and for having ruined commerce, and that no Red Sea goods can pass the desert, as the merchants are afraid of being plundered by the Pashá at Cairo.

On the event of the battle of Austerlitz, the Turkish government assumed a certain degree of insolence, and supported by the French, immediately set about attempting two objects upon which they had long fixed their wishes, though until that moment without much prospect of attaining them:

1. The extending of the Nizámi-djedíd, its imposts and military discipline over Rumilí; 2. The withdrawing from all rayáhs the protections of the European courts, and particularly the Russian flags from the Greek ships. To effect the former of these objects a very large force was raised in Asia, and sent into Rumilí, and for the latter a firmáhn had already been issued last March. The Janissaries of Constantinople, however, and particularly all the Turks of the country extending from Adrianople to the capital, having united against the Nizámi, the Asiatics were entirely defeated and dispersed before they got beyond Selívria, where the remainder were surrounded and in danger of being cut off, while their adversaries threatened to march to Constantinople and depose the Sultán as a ghiáour. The project of the Sultán was immediately renounced and the Turkish ministry changed.

Salonica, as the Italians and English name this city, is by the Turks called Selaník, by the Greeks Σαλονίκη, and by all the educated among them

extending a mile in length along the sea shore, and defended by three great towers, one at each extremity, the third overlooking the skala or landing place, where stands a small suburb, between the tower and the sea shore. Since the invention of gunpowder, batteries on a level with the water have been added to the maritime defences in the most important points, and a fortress, or fortified inclosure, has been constructed at the western angle of the city.

The eastern and western walls follow the edges of the height, where it falls on either side towards a small valley watered by a rivulet, and terminate above in the walls of the citadel, which has a double inclosure towards the town flanked with square towers. The heads of the valleys on the east and west are separated only by a ridge connecting the citadel with the falls of Mount Khortiátzi, which command it at a short range. The citadel, like that of Constantinople, is called Ἑπταπύργιον, which the Turks have translated into Yeddi Kúlelar, the Seven Towers; for doubtless at both places the name is older than the Turkish conquest. Saloníki bears the usual characteristics of a Turkish town; no attention is paid to cleanliness or convenience in the streets, the exterior of the houses is designed to conceal all indications of wealth, nor can any correct opinion be formed of the population from the central part of the town, or a visit to the bazár, where crowds are collected during the greater part of the day, while the rest of the city is a solitude. The houses in the lower part of the

town are shut out from all external view by the narrow streets and the high town walls, but in rising higher, a noble prospect opens of the grand outlines of *Olympus*, *Ossa*, and *Pelium*, seen above the promontory of Karáburnu, together with a part of the *Chalcidic* peninsula to the southward, and to the westward the immense level which extends for 50 miles to Vérria and Vodhená.

All the principal mosques were formerly Greek churches, and two of them were Pagan temples, which had been converted into churches. The most remarkable is that which is still known to the Greeks by the name of παλεὰ Μητρόπολις, or more vulgarly Eski Metrópoli [1], an appellation employed also by the Turks. Hence it seems to have been, in the time of the Byzantine Empire, the cathedral church of the metropolitan bishop. It is a rotunda built of Roman bricks, with two doors, one to the south, the other to the west. The thickness of the walls below is 18 feet, their height about 50 feet, the diameter within, 80 feet: above these walls was a superstructure of slighter dimensions, the greater

temple having perhaps been lighted from the dome. The inside of the dome is adorned with the representation of buildings and saints, in mosaic, interspersed with inscriptions which, as usual in Greek churches, explained the subjects, but are now too much injured to be decypherable, though the Turks have not destroyed any of these ornaments, nor even a figure of the Almighty which occupied a niche opposite to the door where once stood the Pagan idol. In one place they have supplied a fallen mosaic with a painting in imitation of it.

Eski Djumá, or Old Friday, is the name of another mosque, the masonry and form of a great part of which shows that it was once a building of the same age as the Eski Mitrópoli, or perhaps still older, but such have been the repairs and alterations which it has undergone in its conversion first into a church and then a mosque, that the ancient plan cannot easily be traced. It is supposed by the learned to have been a temple of Venus. Ai Sófia is a mosque, so called by the Turks, and which like the celebrated temple at Constantinople, was formerly a church dedicated to the Divine Wisdom. The Greeks assert it to have been built by the architect of St. Sophia, of Constantinople: its form at least is similar, being that of a Greek cross with an octastyle portico before the door, and a dome in the centre, which is lined with mosaic, representing various objects much defaced; among these I can distinguish saints and palm trees. The Turks, contrary to their usual custom of destroying, or at least of hiding with a coat of plaster, the

figures in the Greek churches which they have converted into mosques, have allowed all the figures of St. Sophia to remain, with the exception of a piece in the centre, which they have replaced by an Arabic inscription, having been justly shocked, perhaps, by a huge human face, looking down, as I have frequently seen in Greek churches, and which is generally inscribed with the word Παντοκράτωρ. St. Demetrius is a long church with a triple aisle, supported by a double order of columns of several kinds of variegated marble, and very much resembling an old Latin church, such as are seen in Italy, Sicily and the Holy Land. It may possibly have been built by the Latins when in possession of Thessalonica in the 13th century. Within this temple a sepulchral marble is inserted in the wall, which very much resembles many similar monuments in Christendom, being in that common form which represents the end of a sorus crowned with a pediment. It is ornamented with flowers well executed, within which is an inscription in twenty-two Greek Iambic verses, in honour of one Luke Spanduní, who is described as a scion of Byzantium and the Hellenes

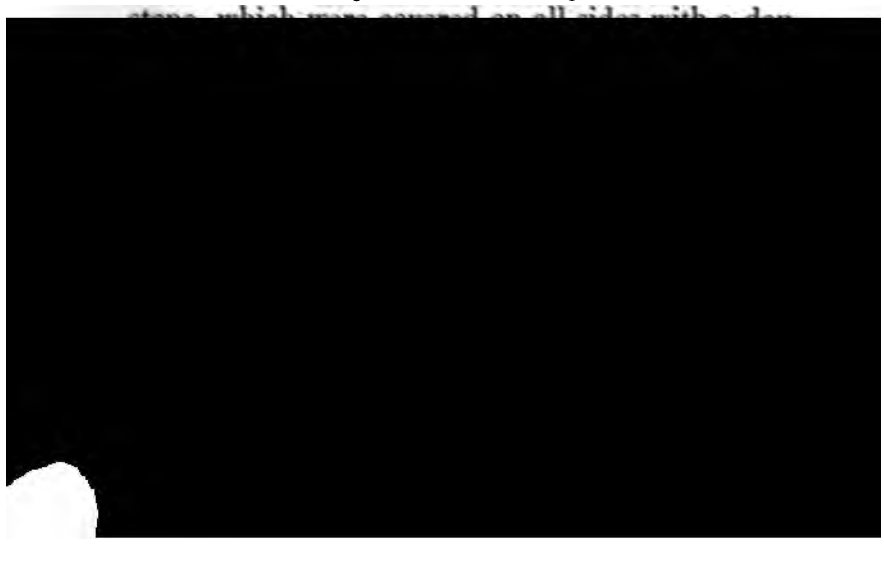
modern poet, to make his Hellenic attempt the more complete, has imitated the ancient character, and avoided any division of the words. The word *οἶα* shows that it is a woman who grieves for the loss of Spanduní.

Among the ecclesiastical antiquities, in which Saloníki exceeds any place in Greece, as the churches just mentioned show, are two of the most ancient pulpits in existence; they are single blocks of variegated marble, with small steps cut in them. One of these *βήματα*, as they are still called by the Greeks, is in the mosque of Eski Mitrópoli: the other is lying in the yard of a church of St. Minas, which is still appropriated to the Greek worship.

Καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἀποβεβληκὼς, οἴμοι,
Τῆς βαρβαρικῆς οὐ μετέσχες κηλίδος·
Τῶν γὰρ πατρικῶν ἀρετῶν ἐξημμένος,
Χρυσὸς ὥσπερ τις ἢ ἀστὴρ ἑωσφόρος,
Ἔλαμψες λαμπρῶς τῷ τῶν ἀρετῶν κάλλει,
Σωφροσύνην γὰρ καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀσκήσας,
Τήν τε φρόνησιν καὶ τὴν ἰσονομίαν
Ὡς βάθρον ἔθου ἀρετῶν τῶν ἐνθέων,
Ἄγαλμα θεῖον τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνεδείχθης,
Θέλγων δὲ πάντας τῇ τῶν λόγων σειρῆνι,
Καὶ τῇ γλαφυρᾷ τοῦ κάλλους ἀγλαΐᾳ,
Καὶ τοῖς γενναίοις τῶν ἔργων καταπλήττων,
Ἐν τῇ ἀκμῇ, φεῦ, τῶν μεγίστων ἐλπίδων,
Οἴχῃ μοὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ κλέος τῆς ζωῆς μου,
Τὸ κοινὸν κλέος, ἡ σειρὰ τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους,
Ἡ τῆς φύσεως λαμπρὰ φιλοτιμία.
Αἲ αἲ τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ κοινῆς δυστυχίας,
Οἷα ὑπέστην ἐπὶ σοὶ, φεῦ τοῦ πάθους,
Φίλη κεφαλὴ, ἐλπὶς, ζωὴ, φῶς, τέρψις,
Τοῦ Βυζαντίου καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄρπηξ.

Ἐκοιμήθη ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ Λουκᾶς ὁ Σπαντουνὴς ἐν ἔτει, ϛ^ωλ^ωπθ^ω ἐν μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίου α^η.

Among the remains of Pagan times, may be mentioned some small portions of the walls, which there is every reason to believe, follow the line and foundations of the inclosure of Cassander, and which being in their general structure much higher and more solid than such as the Ottomans build, seem to consist for the most part of successive repairs of the Macedonian work, before the Turkish conquest. *Therme* we can hardly suppose to have been so large as *Thessalonica*, and as it could not have left the citadel unoccupied, probably did not extend as far as the sea. That the main street, and two principal gates, and consequently the whole inclosure, of the Roman Thessalonica, corresponded with those of the modern town, we have an infallible proof, in two ancient arches which still cross that street; one already mentioned near the Vardár gate, the other not far from the corresponding gate at the eastern end of the same street. The latter, which had two smaller lateral arches annexed to it, now destroyed, consists of two piers 14 feet square, faced with



the piers is still more deprived of its facing, and is now a mere mass of Roman tile and mortar.

Zosimus seems to give some support to the tradition which attributes this monument to Constantine, by his remarking, that when Constantine had subdued the Sarmatians, he went to Thessalonica, and there constructed a port[1]. But the execution of the sculpture is perhaps better suited to the age of Theodosius, whose victories over the Goths were a common subject on the monuments of his age.

To the westward of this arch, near the main street, are the ruins of a portico with a double order of architecture, consisting of four Corinthian columns, not of the best design or execution, and the shafts of which are now half buried in the ground. On their architrave stands an upper order, consisting of four plain pilasters, on the opposite faces of which are Caryatides, eight in all: the figures are of the human size, or near it, and each of them represents a different subject. On one of the pilasters the two opposite figures are Leda and Ganymede; the former embraces the swan, whose head reposes upon her breast: Ganymede is held by the eagle, whose wings are spread over his back, and whose talons rest on his hips, while the head of the eagle reaches over the left shoulder of the youth, looking in his face. This is a very good piece of sculpture, and not much injured by time. The other figures seem inferior in merit as they are in preservation; nor can the subjects be easily understood. The next to Gany-

[1] Zosim. l. 2, c. 22.

mede, on the same side, is a man with a Phrygian bonnet, at whose feet is a bull's head; the third and fourth are females in light drapery, the latter with wings. On the opposite side, or that of the Leda, the figures are so much ruined that I cannot distinguish the subjects[1]. This monument is in the house of a Jew, and is known in the Spanish dialect of the Jews by the name of Incantada, "the Enchanted," on the supposition that the figures are human beings petrified by the effect of magic. Its central position, and the nature of the construction, support the idea that it was connected with the ancient agora. The space which lies between the sea and that part of the main street where the Incantada and arch of Constantine are situated, is said to have been occupied by the hippodrome, noted for having been the scene of a promiscuous massacre of the assembled people of Thessalonica by order of Theodosius[2].

In many parts of the town, particularly at the fountains, sepulchral stones and inscribed sori are to be found. Wherever figures occur upon the

for its having a double date, by which it appears that the year 302 in one epoch corresponded to 186 in the other: as the difference 116 is the exact interval between the destruction of Corinth and the battle of Actium, there can be no doubt that these were the two events from which the dates were taken. 2. An epitaph in verse, wanting one or two lines at the beginning, where the name of a woman occurred, whose husband Eutropus constructed the tomb for her and himself. In two prose lines in smaller characters, which follow the verses, he declares that whoever shall place any other corpse in the tomb, except those of his children, shall pay a fine to the public chest of 10,200 denaria. 3. Another inscription contains the names of those who contended for the prize in a certain funereal contest, in which there were trials in the pancratium and in wrestling by boys, by young men, and by adults. It is to be supposed that the prior name of each pair was the victor[1].

1.

[1] M. Ἰούλιος Ἑρμῆς Ἰουλίᾳ Τερτίᾳ γυναικὶ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ Ἑρμιονῇ τῇ θυγατρὶ ζῶσιν ἐποίει, ἔτους σπβ̄ τοῦ καὶ βτ̄.

2.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν ζωοῖσιν ἐπώνυμον ἔσκε γυναικὶ
Εἵνεκεν ἧς ἀρετῆς καὶ σωφροσύνης μάλ' ἀρίστης.
Τεύξε δὲ τόνδε τάφον φίλιος πόσις Εὔτροπος αὐτῇ,
Οἵτ' αὐτῷ μετόπισθεν ὅπως ἔχοι ἀμπαύεσθαι
Σὺν φιλίῃ ξυνῶς ἀλόχῳ, κεκλωσμένον αὐτῷ
Τέρμ' ἐσιδὼν βιότου ἀλύτοις ὑπὸ νήμασι μοιρῶν.

The population of Saloníki is reckoned at 80,000, but probably does not exceed 65,000, of whom 35,000 are Turks, 15,000 Greeks, and 13,000 Jews, the remainder Franks and Gypsies.

Ἐὰν δέ τις ἕτερον τολμήσῃ καταθέσθαι μετὰ τὸ ἐμὲ κατατεθῆναι χωρὶς τῶν τέκνων . . . . . δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ . . . . . δηνάρια Μύρια δισχίλια.—V. Inscription, No. 138.

3.

. . . . . 'Ρούφῳ καὶ . . . . . καλάνδων 'Οκτωβρίων ἀγὼν ἐπετελέσθη ἐπιτάφιος θεμάτικ(ος . . . . Γ. Οὐιβίου Λεπίδου 'Αχιλλέος· μετὰ θυσίας ταύρου καὶ μετὰ θυσ(ίας . . . β, ἐπὶ βωμοὺς β, ὑπὸ ἱεροσαλπίκτην Σεύηρον 'Ιέρακος Κασσανδρέα . . . . καὶ ἱεροκήρυκα Κ. Καικίλιον Κάλλιστον.

Οἱ ἀγωνισάμενοι. Παῖδες παλαισταὶ, Εὐφραίνων καὶ Λούκιος Ἄκρατος, καὶ Ζώσιμος, Μύρων καὶ Σωσίας. Παῖδες παγκρατιασταὶ, Μάρκος καὶ Μάξιμος, Σύμφορος καὶ Διαδούμενος. 'Αγενείων πάλῃ, Φαῦστος καὶ Δῶρος. 'Αγένειοι παγκρατιασταὶ, Οὐάλης καὶ Σεκοῦνδος. 'Ανδρῶν πάλῃ, Πρῶτας καὶ 'Ερμῆς. 'Ανδρῶν πανκρατίῳ, Νεικήφορος καὶ Ἥλιος.—V. Inscription, No. 137.

All the Turks of *Macedonia* who bear arms are Spahís, Yurúks, or Janissaries. The Spahís are the cavalry found by the holders of the zaims and timária, when called upon by the government. The Yurúks cultivate their own lands chiefly in the mountainous districts. The Janissaries are the garrisons of the fortified places, among whom are generally enrolled the greater part of the heads of families engaged in trade or manufactures, or who have landed property in the neighbouring plain. A thousand pounds sterling a year in land is considered a large estate. Hadjí Mustafá, the Bash Tjaús of the Janissaries, has seven tjiftlíks worth 20,000 piastres a year (or 1200*l.*), though he lives at the rate of not more than eight or ten thousand. Under a government which makes every one feel danger in displaying his wealth, and renders property and life insecure even to its most favoured subjects, the extremes of parsimony and extravagance are naturally to be found. Turks as well as Jews often carry the former to excess, and the latter is by no means uncommon among the young Osmanlís. An underemployé in the Mekhemé is pointed out to me, who in a few years dissipated 2000 purses and seven tjiftlíks. These Turkish landed proprietors, however, are the persons of the greatest stability in Turkey; and the Frank merchants who bargain for their corn, cotton, and tobacco, can, without much risk, make advances upon their crops.

The Jews of Saloníki are descended from the largest of those colonies, which settled in Greece at the time of their expulsion from Spain at the

end of the fifteenth century; but a considerable portion of them have become Musulmans since that time, though without being altogether acknowledged by the Osmanlís, and forming a separate class under the denomination of Mamíns. Inheriting the Jewish spirit of parsimony and industry, they are generally rich, and among them are some of the wealthiest Turks at Saloníki. Hassán Adjík, one of the ministry at Constantinople, and his brother, who is Gumrukjí, or collector of the customs at Saloníki, are Mamíns. They are naturally objects of extreme dislike to the idle, poor, and profligate Janissaries of the lower class. They go to mosque regularly, and conform to the Mahometan religion in externals, but are reproached by the other Turks with having secret meetings and ceremonies, with other peculiarities of which the best attested is their knowledge of the Spanish language. They are said to be divided into three tribes, two of whom will not intermarry with the third, nor will the latter give their daughters in marriage to the Osmanlís.

The πολιτεία, or Greek community, is presided over by the metropolitan bishop, who with the archons arranges all civil disputes in which Turks are not concerned, unless when the Christians think fit to resort to the Mekhemé.

By a strange distortion of ancient geography, Thessalonica and Berrhœa are ecclesiastically ἐπαρχίαι, or provinces of Thessaly[1]; thus the

[1] This false chorography is as old as the ninth century; and we find it in the twelfth, in Anna Comnena (l. 14, c. 10.)

bishop of Thessalonica is styled ὑπέρτιμος καὶ ἔξαρχος πάσης Θετταλίας; he claims the privilege of the epithet παναγιώτατος in his own province, but elsewhere is intitled only, like other metropolitans, to the πανιερώτατος. The bishoprics of his province are Kitro, Kampanía, Platamóna together with Lykóstomo, Sérvia, Petra, Ardhaméri, of which the residence is Galátista, and Ierissó which includes the Aion Oros.

There are some opulent Greek merchants at Saloníki, most of whom are indebted for the undisturbed possession and increase of their wealth to the protection which they have enjoyed as dragomans or barataires of the European missions. Now that these protections are about to be abolished, their situation will be much more precarious.

There are three sorts of kharátj paid by the rayáhs; the first, called ediná, is of 3 piastres, to which boys under 14 are subject, but which is generally exacted from all under 11; the second, the efsát, of 6 piastres, is paid by artisans, servants, and all the poor, even beggars; the third, aliá, taken from all the classes above the last, amounts at Salonica to 12 piastres a head. Mr. N—, the principal Greek merchant, who is procurator for Mount Athos, informs me that he pays only 3600 kharátjes for the whole population of the peninsula, though there are 4000 monks alone, besides laics.

who with all her learning seems to have known but little of ancient geography, for she confounds Philippi with Philippopolis, l. 5, c. 3.

It is almost the only place where the kharátj is underrated. Those who farm it having generally the means of making good their claims for an increase in the rayáh population, it most frequently happens that individuals pay more than the regulated sum, and scarcely ever the reverse. Sometimes they are called upon for the double or triple. The Turks are probably aware that Mount Athos is rated below its numbers, but being the abode of persons devoted to religion, it is intitled to favour by the Turkish usages, for custom is a powerful argument among them, though seldom employed, as in the instance just mentioned, for the benefit of any but themselves. A Pashá of Saloníki having received orders to join the Grand Vezír's army, was waited upon by a merchant acting as English consul, to whom he was indebted about 30*l*. My friend, said he, where am I to find a pará? I have not money to pay the bread I have been eating here; the Porte indeed has sent me 500 purses, but it will not discharge one fourth of my debts. At least, says the consul, you will give me an ac-

servants in the Frank families have about 50 piastres a year, with some articles of clothing; in all cases with board. The finest bread is now 15 parás the oke of 2¾lbs., and mutton 18 or 20 parás an oke; beef only 8 or 10, as it is consumed only by Jews and Franks. The ordinary price of silk is 50 piastres the oke; and almost every family raises silkworms. Ordinary cotton and woollen stuffs for the clothing of the common people are also woven in the private houses as well as in the surrounding villages. A considerable quantity of cotton towels are made here, sometimes with a border of gold threads, for the *νίψιμον*, or washing of the upper classes before and after meals, which in every part of Greece is practised as in the time of Homer[1]. Silken gauze for shirts and mosquito curtains, are another fabric of the city, but the chief manufacture is the tanning and dyeing of leather, which is entirely in the hands of the Janissaries. The commerce of Saloníki has very much declined during the war, and even since Beaujour described it in 1797. Tobacco sent from hence in imperial ships is now the only considerable export. No English ship has loaded here for 12 years. The beys have their magazines full of corn, which by a firmáhn of the Porte, issued last year and renewed this year, they are forbidden from sending to Christen-

[1] Χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόῳ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα
Καλῇ χρυσείῃ ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος
Νίψασθαι. Od. A. v. 136.

But we must now read copper and tin instead of gold and silver, even in the case of Pashás.

dom. Meantime the Porte demands a certain proportion from all the most productive corn countries of the empire, Macedonia among the rest, at a low price, on the pretence of fitting out fleets and armies. The consequence has been, that last year, when the price of corn at Athens was very high, it was sold by the government at Constantinople to foreigners, at a much lower price than they might have received for it in Greece, including the expence of sending it there. Three or four hundred thousand Stambúl kila of wheat might be procured here in a month, and cattle in any number that could be required. The Beys of Saloníki suffer more than the more distant landlords, because the smuggling of corn can be more easily carried on from any other part of the coast. In general the orders of the Porte against the exportation of corn are converted into a source of profit to the local governor; but in a fortified place, under the eyes of a Pashá, and in time of war, more attention to the imperial orders is necessary.

In reading descriptions of China one is struck

audiences to ambassadors, one at coming, the other at departing. When a great man passes through the streets, his approach is indicated by a small drum. A drum marks the watches of the night. Provincial governors are changed very frequently.

Tjay, of which word tea is the softened English form, preserves its original sound from Japan to the Adriatic. From the Lettres 'Edifiantes, we learn that the Mongol Tartars distinguish black tea by the name Karà Tjay, like the Turks. The latter, however, now make very little use of tea, except medicinally, nor is any brought to them overland as formerly, their supply being entirely, as well as that of the greater part of their coffee, from Europe. In Barbary the custom of drinking tea, particularly green tea, still prevails.

There are many words in Turkish, which having been borrowed from the Greek, seem to show that the Turks had not in their own country the objects expressed by them; for example, *leléh* stork, *limán* port, *keremíd* tile. The borrowing of titles is more easily accounted for, as Effendi from *αὐθέντης*. Effendém in Turkish, and *αὐθεντήμου* or more vulgarly *ἀφεντήμου* in Greek, is the common mode of addressing a gentleman among both people.

The Turks have a certain manly politeness, which is the most powerful of all modes of deceit, and which seldom fails in giving strangers an erroneous impression of their real character. It covers a rooted aversion to all European nations, as well as to the individuals who have the misfortune to have any dealings with these plausible barbarians. Though in the most splendid æra of

their history their feelings may have been those of contempt, founded upon ignorance, fanaticism and the pride of conquest, it has been changed by their weakness and their dread of the Christians of Europe, into a mixture of fear and hatred. Thus there are two things which the European who has any political dealings with the Turk, should never lose sight of: 1, that he hates us: 2, that he fears us. By the latter only can we counteract the effects of the former, added as it is, to the most profound dissimulation, a keen sense of self-interest, and an obstinate perseverance in defending it. The Turks have so long experienced the advantages of conduct founded on this basis, and that of the mutual jealousy of the several European powers, that we may rely upon their adhering to it, as long as they have a foot of land on the continent of Europe. To say that the Turks have more honour and honesty than their Christian subjects, is a poor commendation: they have not the same necessity for the practice of fraud and falsehood. What other arms against their tyrants, are left to the unfortunate rayáhs!

of an European power. But this powerful engine is rendered inefficient by the impotence of the government: repeated firmáhns, which have lately arrived at Saloníki for the movement of the Macedonian troops to the northward, have produced only the march of a few Janissaries from this city. All the Yurúks and Janissaries of the subordinate towns have pleaded the insufficiency of their force for their own defence, and yet *Macedonia* is considered one of the most military provinces in the empire. The Albanians justly hold both Janissaries and Yurúks cheap in comparison of themselves; but they have a considerable respect for the Turkish cavalry.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MACEDONIA.

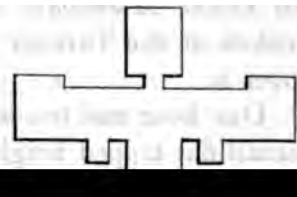
Departure from Saloníki—Tekelí—Bridge of the Vardhári or *Axius*—Aláklisi, or Apostólus—*Pella*—Yenidjé, or Iánnitza — Paleókastro — River of Moglená — Vodhená, *Edessa* — Vládova—Ancient Inscriptions at Vodhená—*Via Egnatia*—Niáusta, *Citium*—Vérria, *Berrhœa*—Kastaniá—Mount *Bermium*—Khádova—Plain of Budjá—Djumá—*Eordæa*—Sulinária—Kózani.

Nov. 26.—From Saloníki to Aláklisi in five hours and fifty minutes, with menzíl horses and baggage, and deducting halts. The road lies all the way through the plain. At an hour and a half from the city a rivulet named Gallikó crosses the road and flows directly to the gulf; half an hour beyond it is Tekelí, a small village, where the horses are changed; and an hour and a half far-

of the river, which occupies about a third of the whole breadth between the banks. The stream is now rapid, deep, and swollen with rain, though not so high as it usually is in winter. Below the bridge, about midway to the mouth, the river leaves Kulakiá, a large Greek village, at no great distance on the left, and widens so much before it meets the sea, as to be near two miles in breadth. Kulakiá, which is in the road from Saloníki to Katerína as well as to Vérria, is the residence of the bishop τῆς Καμπανίας, one of the subordinates of the metropolitan despot of Thessalonica. The bishop of Campania formerly resided at Kapsokhóri, another Greek village, situated between the Karasmák, or Μαυρονέρι, and the Injékara, or Βιστρίτζα, in a well-wooded part of the plains, around which are some other Greek villages. All the rest of the population of these great plains of *Lower Macedonia* consists of Bulgarian cultivators of the Turkish tjiftlíks which are dispersed over it.

One hour and ten minutes beyond the bridge, a small flat-topped height is on the left of the road, on the summit of which are some ancient foundations, and around it a Turkish burying ground, in which are many fluted and plain shafts, and other fragments of architecture, together with a pedestal bearing an imperfect inscription. This place is about a mile distant from the south-eastern extremity of a high mountain, which stretches from the right bank of the Vardhári in the direction of Vodhená. The valley of that river is seen to our right branching to a considerable distance among

the mountains. Midway between the artificial height and Aláklisi, which is 1 hour and 10 minutes beyond it, a tumulus rises close to the road on the right, then five more, nearly in a line, the last of which is at a musquet shot from Aláklisi. These tumuli stand on the last slope of the mountain, where a mile on the left begins an immense marsh, which extends as far as can be seen southward towards the sea, and westward towards the *Olympene* range of mountains which border the plains on the west. The tumulus nearest to Aláklisi is a great heap of earth based upon the rock, which all around is covered only with a thin layer of mould. An opening cut in the rock, covered above with a semicircular arched roof of masonry, and having a small chamber on either side of it, leads on a descent 33 feet long, to two chambers, which are excavated in the rock, under the centre of the tumulus, and are now nearly filled with the earth washed into them through the entrance.



the duck tribe in the winter; and partridges of the red-legged species on the slopes of the hills. The English breed has been introduced by some of the merchants of Saloníki, but has not propagated far from the neighbourhood of the city. Aláklisi, meaning in Turkish Godchurch, is by the Greeks named στοὺς Ἀποστόλους, and by the Bulgarians Postól. It contains 40 or 50 poor cottages, and belongs to Selím Bey, of Saloníki, who maintains here an Albanian Subashí, with a small guard. The village is not in the direct road to Yenidjé, but half a mile to the right of it.

Nov. 27.—On the descent from Aláklisi into the main route, the fields are covered with fragments of former buildings, and of ancient pottery, such as are generally observable on the sites of Hellenic cities. The foundations of a wall of the construction of those times is seen at right angles to the road, and terminating apparently at the marsh, the edge of which is parallel to the road at the distance of half a mile. A little beyond these foundations, following the road towards Yenidjé, occurs a fountain, below which, on the edge of the marsh, is a small village, named Neokhóri or Yenikiúy, where a low mound of considerable extent, and apparently artificial, seems to have been intended as a defence against the encroachment of the marsh. At 20 minutes from Aláklisi, and 10 beyond the first fountain, is another much more copious source, which is received into a square reservoir of masonry, and flows out of it in a stream to the marsh. This source is called by the Bulgarians Pel, and by the Greeks Πέλλη. As the ancient cities of

Greece often derived their names from a river or fountain, the same may have occurred in the instance of the celebrated capital of Philip and his successors, which the description of Livy, compared with the tumuli and other ancient remains, clearly show to have stood in this situation. It would seem as if the name of Pella had survived even the ruins of the city, and had reverted to the fountain to which it was originally attached. The word was appropriate to a fountain, whether derived from the same etymon as πέλλη *mulctrum*, or from πελὸς black, an epithet which has been very generally applied by the Greeks to a source of water, from the μέλαν ὕδωρ of Homer to the mavromáti of the present day. Below the fountain are some remains of buildings, said to have been baths, and still called τὰ Λουτρά. The baths of Pella are alluded to by a comic poet cited by Athenæus [1]. There is nothing remarkable in the taste of the water, but it has a slight degree of warmth, which perhaps might not be perceptible in summer. The reservoir stands upon the foundations of a Hellenic wall, above which, in a corn-field, is a large piece of masonry, con-

of all, and has either been excavated, or has fallen in by natural decay, for it now exhibits the appearance of a double summit, with a hollow in the middle. It might naturally be supposed, that some of these tumuli were royal sepulchres, especially the last mentioned, as well as that nearest to Aláklisi, which contains chambers in the rock; but as we are informed upon good authority that Ægæ continued to be the burial place of the royal family, even after the seat of government was transferred to Pella, that the body of Alexander was destined to be sent to the same place, had not Ptolemy caused it to be carried to Egypt [1], and that Philip Aridæus, his wife Eurydice, and her mother Cynna, were buried at Ægæ by Cassander [2]; it is more probable that the tumuli of Pella are the tombs of some of the noble families of Macedonia. That which I examined near Aláklisi might have been the receptacle of a family during a long succession of ages, and from the arched entrance it seems to have been used for this purpose, as late as the Roman Empire.

Although so little remains of *Pella*, a tolerable idea may be formed of its extent and general plan by means of the description of Livy, compared with the existing traces. The interval between the westernmost of the eastern tumuli and the easternmost of the western was probably something more than the maximum of the diameter of the city, as we cannot but suppose these monuments to have

[1] Pausan. Attic. c. 6.

[2] Diodor. l. 19, c. 52. Diyllus ap. Athen. l. 4, c. 14.

stood on the outside of the walls. Its circumference, therefore, was about three miles. The two sources were probably about the centre of the site, and the modern road may possibly be in the exact line of a main street which traversed it from east to west. The temple of Minerva Alcidemus is the only public building mentioned in history [1], but of its exact situation we must remain in ignorance, unless some excavation or accidental discovery should hereafter reveal it. Of the construction of the city towards the lake, the historian has left us the following description, derived undoubtedly from Polybius: "Pella stands upon a height sloping to the southwest, and is bounded by marshes, which are impassable both in winter and summer, and are caused by the overflowing of a lake. The citadel rises like an island from the part of the marsh nearest to the city, being built upon an immense embankment which defies all injury from the waters; though appearing at a distance to be united to the wall of the city, it is in reality separated from it by a wet ditch, over which there is a bridge, so that no access whatever is afforded to an

The mound near Neokhóri marks perhaps the line where the wall was separated by the wet ditch from the citadel, but no vestiges of the island are to be perceived, which is not surprising as the citadel of Pella has now for not less probably than fifteen centuries been abandoned to the incroachments of the lake and the effects of the seasons. Beaujour asserts that he saw the remains of a port, and of a nicely-levelled canal communicating from the port to the sea[1]. I am informed, that in summer when the marsh recedes from its present limits, some remains of a canal may be traced from the heights above Aláklisi, but as to the port, I can neither perceive the least traces of it, nor can I discover where M. Beaujour found any mention of it in ancient history. Nothing seems to have been wanted for a water communication between the city and the sea but to clear a passage through the marshes, which in all the deeper parts are capable of receiving vessels of a considerable draught of water. Scylax seems to have been sensible of this fact, for he merely states that there was a navigation from the

quas restagnantes faciunt lacus. In ipsa palude, qua proxima urbi est, (arx) velut insula eminet, aggeri operis ingentis imposita: qui et murum sustineat et humore circumfusæ paludis nihil lædatur. Muro urbis conjuncta procul videtur: divisa est intermurali amni et eadem ponte juncta: ut nec obpugnante externo aditum ab ulla parte habeat, nec si quem ibi rex includat, ullum nisi per facillimæ custodiæ pontem effugium. Et gaza regia in eo loco erat".—Liv. l. 44, c. 46.

[1] On voit encore le pourtour de son magnifique port et les vestiges du canal qui joignoit ce port à la mer par le niveau le mieux entendu.—Beaujour, tome i. p. 87, note.

sea by the Lydias to the royal residence of Macedonia[1], which was 120 stades in length exclusive of the Lydias[2]. The lake was named Borborus, as appears from an epigram, in which Aristotle was reproached for preferring a residence near the Borborus to that of the Academy[3].

From the baths of Pella to Yenidjé is a ride of 50 minutes. Two miles to the right of the last tumulus of *Pella* is the village of Alatjaushlúk, standing on the slope of the mountain. Iánnitza, or Ghiánitza[4], more commonly known to the inhabitants, being chiefly Turks, by the corrupted Turkish form of Yenidjé, appears to have declined considerably of late years, as the number of houses is now by no means proportioned to the eight minarets which the town still exhibits. There are however several good Turkish dwellings, and in the middle of the town that of Abdurrahmán Bey, an Osmanlí of an ancient family, and possessor of a large proportion of the

[1] Scylax in *Μακεδονία*. The text is corrupted, and the commentators differ as to whether can be little doubt that it was the former, as there could not have been any navigation to

neighbouring lands, which produce grain, cotton, and tobacco. The last of these, which occupies most of the land in the immediate vicinity of Yenidjé, is renowned in every part of Turkey for its aromatic tutún, which, together with coffee, supplies the Turks with a stimulant at least as agreeable as the meagre ill-made wines of modern Greece. The leaves have been lately gathered, strung together, and hung up to dry, which operations are chiefly performed by the women: every wall in the town is now festooned with tobacco leaves, but particularly the open galleries which surround all the houses, and into which the inner chambers open. As the apartments in general have hearths only, without chimneys, the smoke of the wood which is burnt upon them circulates amidst the tobacco leaves, and gives the tobacco a peculiar flavour, which Italians object to, but Turks admire. The herb of Yenidjé is of the species called garden tobacco, and has a small yellowish leaf. The territory yields in good years 2000 bales of 80 okes. The late harvest of corn has been abundant, and the Bey has his granaries overflowing for want of a market.

Yenidjé is commonly known among the Turks in distant parts of the country by the name of Vardár Yenidjé, to distinguish it from the Karasú Yenidjé, still more renowned for its tobacco, and which is situated about as far from the *Nestus* or Karasú eastward, as the Vardár Yenidjé is to the westward of the *Axius*[1]. The lofty and con-

[1] So poor is the Turkish language in its geographical nomenclature, that black and white mountains, and black,

spicuous mountain which rises behind *Pella* and Yenidjé, is named by the Bulgarians Paik, and by the Greeks the mountain of Iánnitza. The ancient name I know not where to look for. On the southern side it is for the most part bare and rocky, but on the summit and northern face it contains forests chiefly of chestnut trees. Beyond it is the district named by the Christians Moglená, and by the Turks Karadjóvasi, into which there is a direct road across the mountain from Yenidjé, but the more frequented route makes a circuit of the western end of the mountain.

Nov. 29.—Many remains of Hellenic antiquity, such as squared blocks of stone and fragments of architecture, are to be seen in the streets and burying-grounds of Yenidjé, which has been built and repaired with the spoils of *Pella*. In quitting the town this morning for Vodhená I diverge to the right of the direct road, for the purpose of visiting Balakástra, as the Turks call Paleókastro, a tjiftlík of Abdurrahmán Bey, which he recommended to my notice as a place containing antiquities, and arrive there in forty minutes. Just above the tjiftlík a copious source issues from the foot of the mountain, turns several mills, and

white, blue, and yellow rivers are found in all parts of the empire. Though the *Strymon* and *Nestus* are so near to each other, they are both called Karasú, or Black Water, and the *Erigon*, or great western branch of the *Axius*, has no other name than that of Kutjúk or little Karasú. In Bulgarian it bears the synonym Tjerna, but among that people the epithet (little) is not necessary to distinguish it, as the two other Karasús preserve among the Christians their ancient names slightly corrupted.

waters some gardens belonging to the farm which is on its right bank. On the opposite side of the stream are many ancient wrought blocks in and around a ruined chapel; others are observable in different parts of the tjiftlík, as well as at the mills near the source; so that there can be little doubt that Paleókastro was an ancient site. The position is very agreeable, being well furnished with wood and water, and commanding a prospect over an extensive level bounded by the mountain of Iánnitza, the lake of *Pella*, and the heights near Vodhená. This plain is much better cultivated than any part of that towards Saloníki, being now almost a continued field of nascent corn, without a single fence.

Leaving Paleókastro exactly at noon, we follow a carriage-road through the plain, and pass several small Turkish villages with burying-grounds, in which the tombstones are for the most part ancient wrought blocks or fragments of architecture. Many of these have probably been brought from Paleókastro, or even from *Pella*, for the Turks often resort to a considerable distance for the stones, which they convert into sepulchral monuments. At 1.40 we cross a large river by a bridge which derives its name of Koludén Kiúpresi from a small village a little below it on the left bank. The river flows from the valley of Karadjóvasi, or Moglená, which is separated from the plain by a range of small hills, admitting only a narrow vale for the passage of the river, and connecting the mountain of Iánnitza with the great range which is a continuation of *Olympus*. A lofty summit to the northward of

Vodhená, called Nitjé, bounds Karadjóvasi on the west, and is the highest point of the range except *Olympus* itself.

Moglená is a Greek bishopric, under the name of Moglená and Moleskhá [1]. The former name, as well as Vodhená, is older than the twelfth century, as we learn from Anna Comnena. They are both to be traced to the language of the Sclavonic tribes, who occupied the *Macedonian* plains about the ninth century, and drove the Greeks into the *Chalcidic* peninsula, or into the low grounds near the sea, where the marshes and rivers which intersect them offered means of resistance. To these two parts of *Lower Macedonia* the Greeks are now chiefly confined, and there the names of places are of Greek form and derivation. The Turks of Karadjóvasi are supposed, for the most part, to be Bulgarian apostates from Christianity.

A high snowy mountain makes its appearance to the northward of Mount Paik, which is said to be not far from Istíb and the plains of the Upper *Axius*. The river of Moglená is called Karadjá by the Turks, Meglesnítj by the Bulgarians, and by the Greeks Moglenítiko. The ancient name is not certain, possibly it was Lydias, or Ludias, for it is the largest of the rivers which fall into the lake of Pella, and its course before it enters the lake is in the same direction in which the Karasmák, or Mavronéri, which we know to have been the *Lydias*, pursues its course to the sea, after emerging from the lower end of the lake.

[1] Μογλενῶν καὶ Μολεσχῶν.

At 2.10 we arrive at the extremity of the plain, which is not less than fifty miles long, in a direct line from its opposite end near Saloníki. Turning a point of the heights which branch from Mount Nitjé, and bound the valley of Vodhená on the north, we enter that valley, which is about a mile broad, and is included on the southern side by the lowest falls of Mount Turla, a summit of the *Olympene* range, which rises above Niáusta. Nitjé is a link in the same chain, and is separated from it only by the pass of Vládova behind Vodhená. The valley of Vodhená, at the end of four miles, is closed by precipices over which the river falls in one principal and several smaller cascades. On the edge of the cliffs stands the town of Vodhená. Ascending the valley we soon reach the left bank of the river formed by the reunion of the torrents which fall over the cliffs; it is a small, but deep and rapid stream, confined by high banks. At 3.15 we cross it by a bridge, and immediately afterwards a smaller branch by another bridge, then enter the vineyards and mulberry grounds which extend to the foot of the precipices of Vodhená; pass soon afterwards some foundations of Hellenic walls on the road side, and at 3.40 arrive at the cliffs. Leaving these to the right, we mount the heights by a circuitous stony road, which in one place is cut through the rock, and enter the town through a wall of sun-baked bricks.

Vodhená, in the grandeur of its situation, in the magnificence of the surrounding objects, and the extent of the rich prospect which it commands, is not inferior to any situation in Greece. As Horace

said of Tibur and the precipitous Anio[1], neither Sparta nor Larissa, although both combining sublimity and beauty of scenery in the highest degree, appear to me so striking as the rocks, cascades, and smiling valleys of Vodhená, encased in lofty mountains which expand into an immense semicircle, and embrace the great plains at the head of the *Thermaic* Gulf. There cannot be a doubt that this is the site of Ægæ, or Edessa, the ancient capital of Macedonia, to which it was well adapted by its lofty, salubrious, and strong position, at the entrance of a pass which was the most important in the kingdom, as leading from the maritime provinces into Upper Macedonia, and by another branch of the same pass into Lyncestis and Pelagonia. Such a situation would have been ill exchanged for the marshes of Pella, had not the increasing power and civilization of the Macedonians rendered maritime communication of more importance to their capital than strength of position, while in the winter Pella had the recommendation of a much milder climate.

Greek language. The bishopric is still known by the name of Edessa as well as Vodhená [1]; ecclesiastically it is considered subordinate, together with several other metropolitan and episcopal sees [2], to the archbishop of Achris, or Bulgaria, who received this authority from the emperor Justinian, when he founded at Achris the town which he named Justiniana Prima. Hence the archbishop of 'Akhridha is still in the Greek church αὐτοκέφαλος, and independent of the three patriarchs; though the Turkish government not acknowledging his independence of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the duties and influence of the hierarchy being almost entirely local, his authority is little more than nominal.

Numerous ruins of churches on the skirts of Vodhená show its former importance under the Greek Empire. At present it contains 1500 Turkish and 500 Greek houses, but many of the Turkish houses are let to Greeks. The bazár is extensive and well-furnished. There are five or six mosques, and a high tower containing a clock, but the most striking building, more however from situation than magnitude or structure, is the bishop's palace adjoining the metropolitan church. Standing on the edge of a projecting rock in the middle of the cliffs, it commands a

[1] Ἐδέσσης ἢ Βοδενῶν.

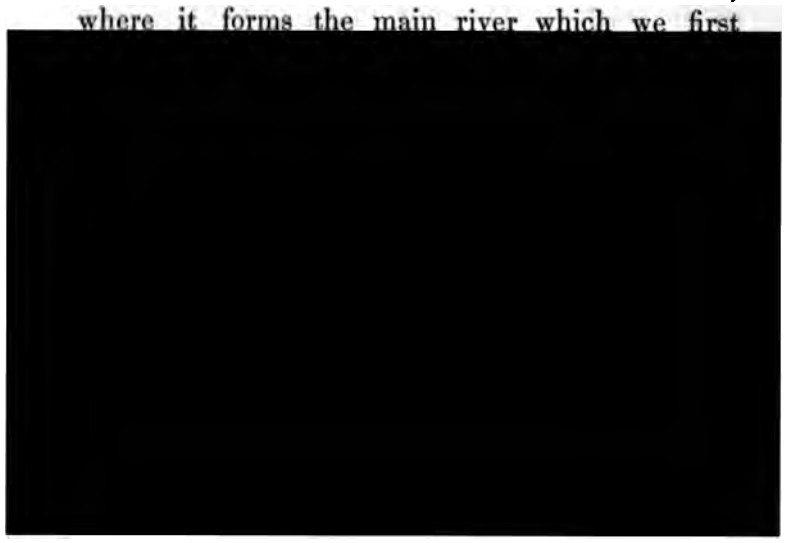
[2] The other metropolitans are: 1. Kastoría; 2. Pelagonía, now Bitólia, in union with Príllapo; 3. Korytzá and Selásforo; 4. Velágrada, or Berát, and Kanína; 5. Tiberiopolis, now Strúmnitza; 6. Grevená. The bishoprics are: 1. Sisáni and Siátista; 2. Moglená and Moleskhá; 3. Prespá and Debra; 4. Korá and Mokra.

prospect of the plains as far as the Bay of Saloníki and Mount Khortiátzi, and itself furnishes a most picturesque object, especially when viewed in profile, crowning the cliffs which overhang a beautiful concave slope terminating in the valley which consists of gardens, vineyards, and orchards. The chief produce of Vodhená is silk and fruit; the yearly amount of the former varies from 2000 to 4000 okes, with a price equally variable, being sometimes 15 and sometimes 40 piastres the oke: this year it is 17. Every market day, which in Greece is commonly on a Sunday, is attended by men from Saríghioli, 'Ostrovo, Filúrina, and other surrounding districts, for the sale of their agricultural productions, or to furnish themselves with manufactures from the bazár, or with the fruit grown in the gardens of Vodhená, consisting of jujubes[1], apricots, apples, plums, and grapes: the latter are raised in large quantities, and are chiefly used for making a sweetmeat common in Turkey, by boiling the juice of the fruit into a thick hard syrup, which is mixed with almonds and walnuts.

Nov. 30.—At a distance of 50 minutes above

gardens the plain narrows, and is occupied by meadows and vineyards on the bank of the river as far as the cascade, which is not large but extremely picturesque, falling into the meadow over a rocky steep covered with bushes. The perpendicular fall is not more than 50 feet, but above it there is a rapid descent at an angle of about 45°, more than equal in perpendicular height to the former. Above the cataract stands the little village of Vládova, so named from the fall, at the entrance of a green valley which terminates at the end of two miles in a small lake, from which the river issues. The vâle is about half a mile in width, and is bordered by the woody summits of two parallel ridges which meet at a pass at the further end of the lake: through the opening appears the great snowy peak northward of Kastoría called Vitzi. The valley leads, at the end of two hours more, to the town and lake of 'Ostrovo, near which the road branches to the left into Saríghioli, and to the right by a precipitous ascent over the ridges which unite Mount Vitzi with the summits on the northern side of the pass of Vládova and with Mount Nitjé. The latter route leads into the plains and valleys watered by the tributaries of the *Erigon*, or great western branch of the *Axius*, called Tjerna by the Bulgarians, and by the Turks the Little Karasú. The pass of Vládova being the opening made by nature for the passage of the river of Vodhená, which rises in Saríghioli and Mount Vitzi, is the easiest of all the communications which lead across the *Olympene* range from *Lower* into *Upper* Macedonia. The two others most remarkable are

those behind Niáusta and Vérria, both which descend into the plain of Saríghioli, but are rendered less important than the pass of Vodhená, as well by their difficulty and steepness as by their conducting into a part of the country more distant from the passes which lead into the basin of the *Erigon*. Having crossed the river near Vládova, I return to Vodhená along the right bank, and in descending the hill of the cascade pass through a deep passage which has been cut through the rocks for a road, and is probably a work of the ancient Macedonians. The rivulets diverted from the main stream for the sake of watering the gardens behind the town, are conducted through every street, and even through many of the houses, until approaching the cliffs they reunite, and fall over the precipices in four principal cascades, which, after watering the gardens below the cliffs, they again constitute the single stream which flows through the lower valley to the Moglenítiko. The largest fall of water over the cliffs is towards the northern end of the hill, where it forms the main river which we first



piece of wall which supports one of the modern houses on the edge of the cliff; but there are many scattered remains in the town, and among them some inscriptions of the time of the Roman empire. A stele, surmounted by a pediment, which has been placed over the gate of the Bishop's palace, preserves a catalogue of young men who had passed through their ephebia under an ephebarch named Lysimachus, son of Abydianus. It is curious for two particulars: 1. Some of the ephebi are distinguished by the mother's name without any mention of the father's, as, Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Εἰούλιος οἱ Μαρκίας, Ἔσπερος Σεμέλης, Εἰούλιος Καλλίστης. I have already given an example of this Macedonian custom from the Vardár gate of Saloníki. 2. The inscription has the date 328, which, calculated from the capture of Corinth, is the year A. D. 182, in the reign of Commodus, but from the battle of Actium, is A. D. 298, in the reign of Diocletian[1]. The latter epoch is to be preferred, not so much from the style of the monument as from the certainty afforded by a coin of the emperor Philip bearing the date 275, and which was struck probably at Berrhœa, that the latter epoch was then employed in Macedonia.

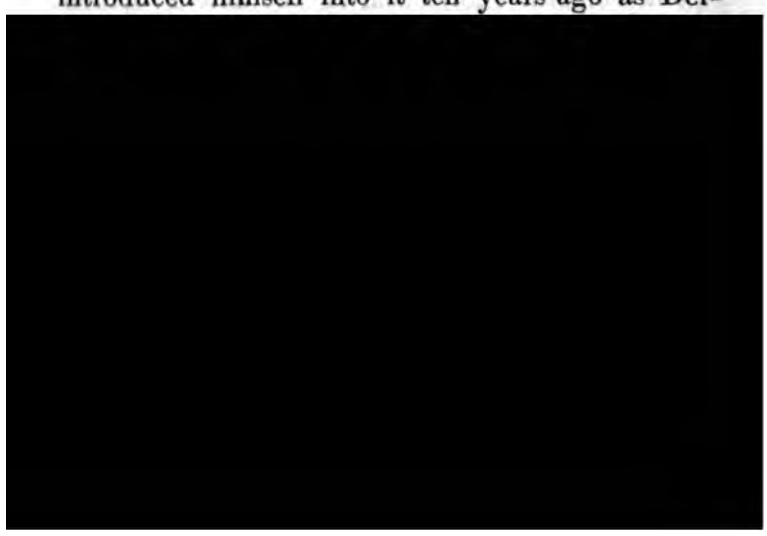
In the metropolitan church are two fragments, which appear to have belonged to one and the same inscription. The epsilon and sigma are of a singular form [2], but of which there are other

[1] V. Inscription, No. 138. The neighbouring Pella seems to have been indebted to Diocletian's passion for building, and for a short time to have changed its name to Diocletianopolis.—Cf. Anton. It. pp. 319. 330. Hierosol. It. p. 606. Hierocl. p. 638. Wess.

[2] V. Inscription, No. 139.

examples in Macedonia. A third inscription might be ascribed to a late period of the Roman empire, from the angular form of the omicron and theta, thus, ◇ ⊖ ; but this also may have been a Macedonian peculiarity, for the composition shows no decline of taste among the Edessæi, being an elegant epitaph in three elegiac couplets in memory of one Graphicus, whose wife survived him[1]. The poet in saying that "God had placed the divine soul of Graphicus in the plain of the blessed," may be thought, perhaps, to have written in Christian times, but the words are not inconsistent with the Platonic doctrines. The epitaph is inscribed on a sarcophagus standing at a fountain (now dry) which is called by the Turks the fountain of the Mirror, because one of the lacunaria of a Corinthian ceiling has been placed over it, with the stone set on its edge over the pipe. The sculpture thus placed the Turks have likened to a mirror.

Alý Pashá was not slow in discovering the advantages of the position of Vodhená, and having introduced himself into it ten years ago as Der-



under the influence of Alý, who maintains here a guard of Albanians.

The military importance of *Edessa* was still greater under the Romans, in consequence of its lying in the great road from Dyrrhachium to Thessalonica, the establishment of which was one of their first cares after the conquest of Macedonia[1]. Although this road was furnished through its whole extent of 267 miles with milestones, and the distances of the several stations are given in all the three itineraries, the Antonine, Jerusalem, and Tabular, and some parts of it twice over in the first[2], there are not many points on the road which can be accurately fixed until the whole shall be submitted to a careful examination, so as to ascertain some of the ancient sites. Nor until then can any safe criticism be exercised upon the itineraries themselves, which as usual differ from one another in many of the distances. A few remarks on this important route may nevertheless be acceptable to future travellers.

In proceeding westward from the pass of Vodhená, the road crossed two great valleys and three remarkable ridges before it arrived at Clodiana, from which there was a bifurcation to Dyrrhachium and Apollonia. From the Tabular Itinerary we learn that at 19 M.P., beyond Lychnidus, the road crossed a bridge named Pons Servilii, which could have been no other than a bridge over the Drin, anciently Drilo, at its issue from the lake *Lychnitis*. We thus obtain the point

[1] Polyb. ap. Strabon, p. 322.

[2] Vet. Roman. Itiner. Wessel, p. 317. 329. 605.

from whence the road crossed Mount Candavia to Clodiana, which appears to have been situated on the Genusus, for the name Clodiana is probably derived from Appius Claudius, whose camp was upon that river when he was employed against Gentius, at the same time that the Consul Æmilius was carrying on the war against Perseus in Macedonia, in the year B.C. 168 [1]. And hence it becomes evident that the *Genusus* was the river now called Skumbi, or Tjerma, consequently that the mountain which lies between the sources of that river and the northern end of the lake *Lychnitis* was the proper *Candavia*. It is the same mountain of which I observed the bearing from Korytzá to be N. 23 W. by compass. Although the distance of Clodiana from Apollonia is no less than 8 M. P. greater in the Jerusalem than in the Tabular, Itinerary, yet as both these authorities place the Apsus about midway, we have thus an approximation which may assist in ascertaining the exact site of Clodiana [2]. Skumbi is obviously a corruption of *Scampis*, a name found in all the Itineraries at about 21 M. P. eastward of Clodiana, conse-

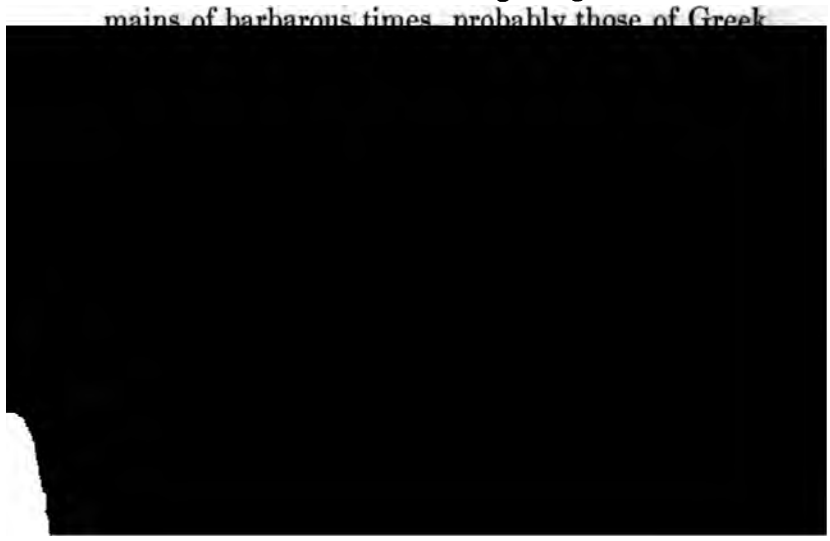
As there was a distance of about 17 M. P. from the bridge of Servilius to Lychnidus, this chief city of the Dassaretii was near the southern extremity of the lake, on the eastern shore, where the road, after having been diverted by the lake to the northward of its general direction, recovered that line by following the eastern shore from the bridge of Servilius to Lychnidus. From thence it crossed the mountains which rise from the eastern side of the lake into the plains watered by the Erigon and its branches. These mountains, which have a north and south direction, are divided into two parallel ridges by a longitudinal valley, where are situated Peupli and Prespá, and, if I am rightly informed, three lakes, of which the southern, called that of Ventrók, sends forth, as I have before observed, the river which flows through the pass of Tzangón, and forms the principal, or at least the longest branch of the *Apsus*, and which I suppose to be the Eordaicus of Arrian [1].

The disagreement of numbers in the several Itineraries renders it difficult to deduce from them the exact position of any of the places on the road between Lychnidus and Edessa; the only one of any importance was Heracleia, the chief town of the province of Upper Macedonia, called Lyncus, or Lyncestis. Heracleia was distant from Lychnidus about 46 M. P., from Edessa 64,—total from Lychnidus to Edessa 110; which, compared with the 56 G. M. of direct distance on the map, gives a rate of 2 M. P. to the horizontal G. M., not

[1] Arrian. Exp. Alex. l. 1, c. 5.

an unreasonable rate in itself, as the road is in great part mountainous, nor as compared with the rate on the level road from Edessa to Thessalonica, which is 1.4 M. P. to the G. M. According to the proportional distances, *Heracleia* stood not far from the modern town of Filúrina, at about 10 G. M. direct to the southward of Bitólia, which is now the principal town in that part of the country, and occupies the site of the ancient Pelagonia, thus agreeing in reference to the supposed position of Heracleia of Lyncestis, inasmuch as the ancient authorities show that the Lyncestæ were situated to the southward of the Pelagones, and between them and the Eordæi, who appear to have occupied the country of 'Ostrovo and Saríghioli. But I shall have occasion to revert to the geography of Lyncestis, in reference to the military operations at the beginning of the contest between Philip, son of Demetrius, and the Romans.

Dec. 1.—Among the vineyards at the foot of the precipices of Vodhená are many fragments and foundations of ancient buildings, together with remains of barbarous times, probably those of Greek



conquest, the lower town may have gradually been abandoned, and the upper, which was anciently the acropolis, and probably the royal residence, may have become the part principally inhabited, as indeed the inscriptions, being all of that date, tend to show. At 10 we leave the point where we crossed the two bridges in approaching the town, and following the foot of the heights on the southern side of the valley, arrive at 10.30 at a projecting point where a copious source of water issues from under the hill; then pass along the plain at a short distance from the foot of the mountain, and at 11.25 join the direct road from Vodhená to Niáusta, which descends from the southern extremity of the former town into a small circular plain lying at the foot of the hill on that side, and then crosses over the heights of Mount Turla, which enclose that plain to the southward. At 12.5 we halt, till 12.34, to dine at a brook, and then after having crossed a small stream which descends to the lake of Iánnitza from the mountain on the right, arrive in sight of the singular topography of Niáusta, to which we soon begin to ascend, and arrive in the town at 1.45.

At the upper end of a deep rocky glen, between two of the highest summits of the mountain, three tabular elevations rising one above the other, look from the plain like enormous steps; they present a front of cliffs not so high as those of Vodhená, but which terminate laterally also in cliffs separated on each side by ravines from the great heights of the mountain. Niáusta occupies the middle and widest terrace, and, like Vodhená, is watered by numerous branches of a

stream which, flowing from a ravine behind the upper tabular summit, passes through the middle of the town in a deep rocky bed, over which there is a bridge. As at Vodhená derivations from this stream pass through every house in the town, and fall over the cliffs, after which they turn some mills, and are again united into one river in the low grounds.

Niáusta is a Greek town, the Bulgarians not having obtained possession of the *Olympene* range to the southward of Vodhená. The name is properly Νιάγουστα, perhaps a corruption of Νέα Αὔγουστα. Although now in the power of Alý Pashá, it is still governed by its own magistrates, whose authority, the place being an imperial appanage, and the inhabitants well armed, has been generally respected by all the neighbouring Pashás and other men in authority, including the robbers, though Niáusta has occasionally been at war with them all. By an effect of the republican system of the place, I am detained two hours in an empty house, while the powers are consulting as to the konák in which I am to be lodged; at

Greece, and like Vérria, Siátista, and Kastoría, had merchants who traded to Christendom as well as Turkey, but not one of whom now remains here. Papafílippo, who is spoken of in terms of high respect by his own adherents as a benefactor of his native town, was poisoned with several others, about 20 years ago, by the adverse party, at the head of which was one Zafiráki, son of Theodosius, who afterwards became proestós, and enjoyed all the authority until last year, when the party of Papafílippo, by applying to Alý Pashá, gave him the long-desired excuse for introducing his myrmidons into the town. But he met with a stout resistance from Zafiráki and his brother Konstantíno Musá assisted by a party of Albanians, under two Albanian brothers Vrakho and Litjo. Those whom the Pashá first sent having been fired upon from an inclosure of mud bricks, which is the only artificial defence of the place, he found it necessary to increase their numbers to 2000, who quickly destroyed every thing on the outside of the town, but not having cannon, could not ruin the fortifications, slight as they are. They proceeded therefore in the manner of an ancient πολιορκία, building towers on a level with the walls, from which they could fire into the town. Their loss was very great, according to the people of Niáusta, of whom about fifty were slain. At length the besieged, after having lived for some time upon wild herbs, branches of trees, and bread made of the refuse of their rice mills, were obliged to surrender, but not until the four chiefs above

mentioned had fought their way one night through the besiegers with 50 palikária, and had arrived safe at Saloníki, where I saw them, and where they still remain. All the persons found in Zafiráki's house have been carried to Ioánnina, where they are now in prison, and the house is occupied by the Albanian commandant, and by a Stambúli Bostanjí residing here as agent of the Sultána, who enjoys the revenue of the town and its district. In one year Alý has exacted 500 purses from the people, and no longer apprehending any resistance, has reduced his Albanian guard to 20, which, united with those stationed at Vérria and Vodhená, are sufficient both to maintain his interests and to protect the passes against the robbers, to whom he has been indebted for his justification with the Porte for introducing his troops here. These kleftes during the last summer blockaded Vérria as well as Niáusta, and advancing to the walls of the latter, carried away children, cattle, and sheep. At length Alý sent his trusty Tepeleniote Mutjobón, or Μετζομπόνος, as the Greeks write his name, who has dispersed or

it is almost impossible to eradicate the thieves from them. Not long since, Sulu took a boy of Niáusta going to Vérria, who was to have been ransomed by the village for 16 purses, when, two days before the money was to be paid, the boy escaped, and arrived here a day or two ago.

The principal church, dedicated to St. George, has a monastery attached to it, and is surrounded by a quadrangle of cells or small apartments for the monks, which they generally let to strangers. The people of Niáusta were formerly noted for working in gold and silver, and still carry on the manufacture in a smaller degree. The productions of the territory are wheat, barley and maize in the plain; rice in the immediate neighbourhood of the marshes adjacent to the lake of Iánnitza; on the heights vines, supplying one of the best wines in *Macedonia*, in sufficient quantity for a large exportation, and in the valley mulberry plantations, which yield about 300 okes of silk per annum. The town is well supplied with fish, particularly with large pike from the lake of Iánnitza, and with trout from their own river, the principal source of which is at a short distance above the town. Many persons suppose it to be the discharge of a katavóthra in the lake of 'Akridha, but can give no better reason for this opinion, than that the lake is the only one in *Macedonia* which produces trout. The sheep which feed on the mountains behind the town, furnish a fine wool, and mutton of the best quality.

Niáusta, as might be expected from its natural

advantages, stands on the site of an ancient city, of this the coins which are found in the fields below the hill, and some vestiges of ancient buildings in the same situation, leave no doubt. But these are the only remains I can discover, except a Doric shaft, of a soft kind of stone, in the gallery of the church of St. George, and at one of the fountains in the town a sepulchral marble, with figures in low relief. The natives suppose that the *Macedonian* city stood higher in the mountain; it occupied, perhaps, all the three terraces, the upper having been the citadel. I am inclined to think that Citium was the ancient name. Livy states that in the plain before Citium Perseus reviewed his army before he marched into Thessaly, when after a peace of twenty-three years, he began that celebrated war with Rome, which in four campaigns put an end to the Macedonian kingdom [1]. That Citium was between Pella and

[1] Liv. l. 42, c. 51. The army reviewed at Citium, which amounted to 39,000 foot and 4000 horse, was collected, with loponnesian wars; though it is in harmony with a fact mentioned by Xenophon (l. 5, c. 2,) that Olynthus, with only 800

Berrhœa, may be inferred from the king having sacrificed to Minerva Alcidemus at Pella, just before he joined his army at Citium, and from his having marched from thence in one day to the lake Begorrites in Eordæa, and on the succeeding day into Elimeia, where he encamped on the bank of the Haliacmon, and thence proceeded to cross the Cambunian mountains into Perrhæbia. Hence also we may infer that the lake *Begorrites* was the Kitriní of Saríghioli, for the lake of 'Ostrovo would not have been in the direction from *Pella* to the *Haliacmon*, unless *Citium* had been at Vodhená, nor could the king have marched in one day from that lake to the *Haliacmon*.

In the epitome of the 7th book of Strabo, it is stated that the lake of Pella is formed by a certain ἀπόσπασμα, or stream diverging from the Axius [1], which can only be reconciled with the reality, by supposing the sources of *Pella* and Paleókastro to be derived from the *Axius* through the mountain. But this would be so unusual a phenomenon, that it cannot even be considered probable, until a derivation from the *Axius* is found flowing into the opposite side of the mountain ; nor if it were true, would the quantity of water be any thing approaching to a sufficiency for the lake of *Pella*, which is evidently fed, not only by the springs of *Pella* and Paleókastro, but also by the Moglenítiko, the rivers of Vodhená and Ni-

[1] Ὅτι τὴν Πέλλαν οὖσαν μικρὰν πρότερον, Φίλιππος εἰς μῆκος ηὔξησε τραφεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ· ἔχει δὲ λίμνην πρὸ αὐτῆς, ἐξ ἧς ὁ Λουδίας ποταμὸς ῥεῖ· τὴν δὲ λίμνην πληροῖ τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ τι ποταμοῦ ἀπόσπασμα.—Strabo, (Epit. l. 7), p. 330.

áusta, and many smaller torrents, assisted perhaps by some subterraneous springs; the excess of all these over the water carried off by the *Ludias*, is the cause of this extensive tract of lakes and marshes.

Dec. 2.—Setting out from Niáusta for Vérria at 12.30, we descend the hills obliquely, and having reached the plain follow its margin, pass two small villages beautifully situated among the rich slopes of the mountain, while to the left is the plain, equally well cultivated, and extending to the marshes of the *Pellæan* lake. At 3, turning a projecting point of the mountain, we arrive in sight of Vérria, and at 3.30 cross a deep rivulet, which issues from a gorge in the mountain to the right. Here are some foundations of an ancient bridge, consisting of loose materials cemented with mortar, but faced with large quadrangular stones, accurately laid in the best Hellenic style. An ascent from thence of ten minutes conducts to the modern gate of Vérria, after passing through a Turkish cemetery, which contains many fragments of ancient architecture, and a little beyond it a large piece of the wall

corn and maize in the lower plain, and at the foot of the mountain hemp and flax, which are supplied with the necessary irrigation from the rivulet on the northern side of the town. This stream, which has its origin in the mountains to the westward, emerges from a rocky gorge in them, falls in cascades over some heights which rise abruptly above the town, and after turning several mills, rushes down the mountain between steep rocky banks to the bridge, over which we crossed it, and from thence into the plain.

The town contains about 2000 families, of which 1200 are Greek: the houses are lofty, and for Turkey well built. Water flows through every street, supplied either from springs or from the rivulet; which advantage, together with the lofty and salubrious situation, the surrounding gardens, many fine plane-trees interspersed among the houses, the vicinity of the mountains, and a commanding view over the great level to the eastward, renders Vérria one of the most agreeable towns in Rumilí. The manufacturing part of the population spin the hemp and flax grown at the foot of the mountain, and make shirts and towels, particularly the makramá, or large towel used in the public baths, and of which there is a great consumption in all Turkish towns, four of them being required for each bather, besides two more for sheets to the bed on which he reposes after the bath. Many of the water-mills around the town are for fulling coarse woollens and carpets, which are made in the surrounding villages or by the Jews of Saloníki.

The remains of the ancient Berrhœa are very inconsiderable. I have already noticed that which appears to be the north-western angle of the walls or perhaps of the acropolis; these walls are traceable from that point southward to two high towers towards the upper part of the modern town, which appear to have been repaired or rebuilt in Roman or Byzantine times, as the large quadrangular stones of which the work is partly constructed are mixed with mortar, tiles, and fragments of ancient monuments. I can discover only three inscriptions at Vérria[1]: in one, Popillius Summus the younger is honoured by the council and people; the other two are sepulchral monuments, one of which was erected by Annia Epigone, in memory of her son Flavianus, and her grandfather, who is not named; the other by Porus, son of Ammia, to Caius Scirtius Agathocles, his son, and Scirtia Zosime, his wife, who are styled heroes of virtuous life[2]. In this inscription we have another instance of the Macedonian custom of recording in some cases the mother's name instead of the father's; and it is remarkable that one of the Politarchons of Thessalonica was

from Ælian that there was a river called Astræus [1], flowing between Thessalonica and Berrhœa, which although not a very correct description of the Vistrítza, inasmuch as this river is not crossed on the road from Saloníki to Vérria, would be still less suitable to the Moglenítiko, or to the river of Vodhená, as lying so far to the right of that line, or indeed to any but the two great streams which we know to have been anciently named Axius and Lydias. Perhaps Haliacmon was the ordinary appellation of the river above the gorges of Berrhœa, and Astræus below them: in the same manner as Injékara and Vistrítza are used in the present day. The river is noted at Vérria for gulianí of immense size. I before remarked that the same fish grows to enormous dimensions in the lake at Kastoría, which is one of the sources of the Vistrítza.

The district of Vérria contains about 300 villages, extending eastward nearly to the *Lydias*, or Karasmák, and to the west to Saríghiul. To the south the village of Kulindrós, standing on the heights which terminate the plains at their southern extremity, not far from the gulf, formerly belonged to Vérria, but is now enumerated among the villages of Elassóna. The vóivoda of Vérria is Halíl Bey of Grevená, who lived here many years as kharatjí, or farmer of the Christian capitation tax, and upon the death of Osmán Agá, a short time ago, obtained the government, having first secured

[1] Ælian. Hist. Anim. l. 15, c. 1. Astræus was probably an old Macedonic word derived from the same root as Strymon, and perhaps our own *stream*.

the approbation of Alý Pashá, whose influence is thus established in Vérria. Though the Verriotes suspect Alý to have been sometimes instrumental to their having been annoyed by the thieves in order to make the necessity of his own services manifest to the Porte, they are so far satisfied with the result as to agree in commendation of the police of Metjobón, and to admit that all this part of *Macedonia* now enjoys great security: nor has Alý yet ventured to lay any heavy contributions on a place which is at the farthest extremity of the country under his influence, and the revenues of which are attached to the imperial family. His encroachments in this quarter have, however, created a panic, and there are now several large houses in the town of which the building has suddenly been suspended.

Dec. 3.—In the afternoon I receive a visit from Metjobón, who here assumes the Turkish name of Mehmét Bey: he is a little spare man, of simple Albanian manners and mild address, and is said to be gifted with a remarkable share of promptitude, coolness, and sagacity. He showed great

traordinary celerity of some of the pezodhrómi, or foot-messengers in Greece. A celebrated one of Vérria may compete with any of them. He carried letters on foot to Saloníki in seven hours, remained there one hour, and returned to Vérria at the end of the fifteenth hour. After having performed this feat more than once, he was commonly known to the day of his death by the name of 'Anemos, an adjunct as honourable to a courier as Africanus to a Scipio.

Dec. 4.—The weather, which has been fine, with a northerly wind, ever since the day of my arrival at Saloníki, as well as on the road from thence, is said to have been the reverse at Vérria for several days, and last night the rain fell heavily. At 6.30, Turkish time, I set out for Kózani, accompanied by one of Alý Pashá's tatárs, a guard of six Albanians supplied by Metjobón, and Musá Pashá's tatár, who has accompanied me from Saloníki. We begin immediately to ascend the hills at the back of the town, and soon enter a narrow vale watered by the stream which descends to the town. At the upper end of this valley, at 8.4, stands the dervéni, a straw hut for lodging the Albanian guard, from whence we begin to ascend Mount *Bermium*, in defiance of the assertion of Herodotus, that it is impassable [1], and although the historian has every possible advantage in the season, and weather, that of last night having co-

[1] ἡ Βέρροια ἐν ταῖς ὑπωρείαις κεῖται τοῦ Βερμίου ὄρους.—Strabo, p. 330.

Οὖρος Βέρμιον οὔνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος.—Herodot. l. 8, c. 138.

vered the mountain with snow to a great depth. Very soon after entering a forest of large chestnut trees, we arrive, at 9.40, at Kastaniá, a small village, of which all the houses, except two or three, are now deserted, in consequence of the demands for provisions, which were alternately made upon them by the robbers and their Albanian opponents. Alý Pashá endeavours to encourage their return, and declares his intention of building here a large village, with kules on the mountain for his soldiers, and thus to secure to himself this important pass between *Lower* and *Upper Macedonia*. The mountain abounds with wolves [1], wild boars [2], fallow deer [3], and roes [4]. The swine are killed for the sake of their skins, which are in request for making shoes [5]. A peasant informs me that not long since he shot one of these animals in the woods, which weighed 90 okes. The flesh of the roe is esteemed by these people, but not that of the deer.

Dec. 5.—We leave Kastaniá at 3.5, Turkish time. The snow continued to fall during the night, but the weather has now become bright and

tain now called Dhoxá, or more commonly Xerolívadho, from a village of that name which once stood near it, six or eight miles on our right, and descend to Khádova, a village of about 50 Turkish families, from whence there is a further descent of about three miles to the Vistrítza, which is seen from our road. There is no passage to the same point from Vérria along the river, as both banks are here bordered by impracticable precipices. Above those on the right bank are the villages of Kókova, Katafýghi, and some others, from which the mountain rises to a lofty summit, one of the *Olympene* chain, and separated only from *Olympus* itself by the elevated pass of Petra. To the northwestward of the mountains the Vistrítza is again seen flowing in a valley which extends to Sérvia. Katafýghi is on the shortest route from Vérria to Sérvia, which crosses the Vistrítza near Vérria, but in some parts is so difficult that the pass of Kastaniá is often preferred. Having passed Khádova at 5.10, we descend from thence along a narrow valley, which at the end of an hour conducts into the plain of Budjá. To the left this plain is separated from those of Tjersembá and Sérvia on the banks of the Injékara, by a low root of Mount *Bermium*, which is connected at the other end of the plain of Budjá with the mountain of Kózani, which is a branch of Mount Búrino. The highest and middle point of these lower heights is called by the Turks Ghioztepé, a name analogous to the Greek Skopó, and meaning a point which commands an extensive view. The plain of Budjá widens as we advance, and contains many small

Yurúk villages, situated at the foot of the mountains on either side.

To our right a root of Mount Dhoxá, advancing to the westward, leaves only a space of two miles between it and a similar projection of the mountain of Siátista; but beyond the opening the level again widens into the more extensive plain of Saríghiul. A little on this side of the opening stands the small Turkish town of Djumá, which contains a bazár, and is the market town of a district of small Turkish villages. The plains of 'Ostrovo, Saríghiul, Djumá, and Budjá, seem, with the enclosing mountains, to have formed the ancient Eordæa. At 6.50 we halt to dine at a rising ground in the plain, spreading carpets and capots on the snow, which still lies here though the sun is now hot; then proceeding at 7.35, leave soon afterwards Djumá two or three miles on the right, and at length arrive in the lowest part of the plain, in which there is no longer any snow. The plain is fertile, and well cultivated with corn. The entrance of the Boghaz of Siátista appears at a distance of seven or eight miles on the right. At 9.20, having arrived at the end of the plain of Djumá, and passed a little to the right of several small Turkish villages situated at the foot of the hills of Ghioztepé, we turn to the left of our former course, through a narrow passage between the Ghioztepé range and some other small hills connected with the mountains near Kózani. At the entrance of the opening stands a khan and a small Turkish village called Sulinária: half an hour further begins an undulated country, which

extends on the right to Kózani, and the mountains behind it, and descends to the left to the Vistrítza; at 10.30 we arrive at Kózani, vulgarly pronounced Kódjani. This is a town of six or seven hundred houses, with a good bazár and a market on Saturday for the neighbouring country: formerly it had a considerable commerce with Hungary and Germany, and several opulent merchants resided here. My lodging, which belonged to one of them, is constructed like the houses at Siátista, with thick walls, and apartments, which, though smaller, are more commodious than those in ordinary Greek and Turkish houses. There is a cellar below the house for the wine, which is here made from an extensive tract of vineyards surrounding the town. The greater part of the Kozanite merchants, whom Turkish oppression, particularly that of Alý Pashá, has driven from hence, have settled in Hungary.

Dec. 6.—The market this morning is much frequented by both Turks and Greeks from the neighbouring country. Kózani and Sérvia form one episcopal diocese in the province of Thessalonica; the bishop has a house in both places, and is now at Sérvia, but his ordinary residence is Kózani. At the foot of the steps of his house, is a square stone of the annexed form, which serves the bishop for a mounting-block when he rides out.

It is an ἐπιτύμβιος στήλη, erected in honour of one Cleopatra, by her husband Crispus, in union with

his daughter Crispina[1]: a square excavation in the upper surface may perhaps have supported a vase of stone. On two opposite sides of the stele, is a repetition of words, intended probably for an Iambic verse, and signifying

"Farewell ye heroes: and fare thee well also traveller, and good journey to thee[2]."

The plural form of ἥρωες appears to indicate that these two inscriptions were added after the death of Crispus and Crispina, and when they had been buried in the same sepulchre with Cleopatra. The sigma is rectangular, and there are several siglæ or conjoined letters, a mode of engraving which seems to have been more common in Macedonia than in the southern provinces of Greece, but was probably seldom or ever employed even here, before the end of the first century of the Roman Empire, to which date the inscription may with probability be attributed. The monument having been discovered in one of the corn-fields above the village, where several small sepulchral marbles, with figures in relief, or other remains of antiquity, have also been brought to light, it is evident that Kózani occupies the position of an ancient town, though I search in vain for any other indications of it, such as town walls, or remains of architecture. Kózani is the native place of Dr.

[1] Κρίσπυς μετὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς πατραν τὴν τύμβιον φιλανδρίας Κρισπείνας, ζῶν ἔτι, Κλεό- ἔνεκεν.

[2] Χαίρετε ἥρωες· χαῖρε καὶ σὺ κ' εὐόδει.

Vide Inscription, No. 144.

George Sakellário, translator of a part of the Voyage D'Anacharsis and some other works, which he undertook for the benefit of his countrymen. The comfortable residence in which I find his family, shews the sacrifice he makes, or rather is forced to make, in residing at Berát as physician to Ibrahím Pashá. His brother-in-law, Papa Kharísmio, who is now residing at Kózani, is an author also, and has written a Pantheon for the use of the schools of Greece.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MACEDONIA, PERRHÆBIA.

Tjersembá—Geography of *Upper Macedonia—Elimeia, Eordæa, Orestis, Lyncestis, Pæonia, Pelagonia—Campaign of Sulpicius against Philip—Tripolitis of Pelagonia—Stymbara—Pelium—Dassaretia—Antipatria*, &c.—Sérvia, *Volustana*,—Livádhi—Pass of Petra—*Tripolitis of Perrhæbia—Pythium, Azorus, Doliche*—Elassóna, *Oloosson*—Mount *Titarus*, River *Titaresius*—Mount *Olympus*—Tzarítzena—Pass of Melúna—Túrnavo.

The plain or rather low undulated country included between the Vistrítza, the mountain of Kózani, Mount Búrino and Ghioztepé, is called Tjersembá, a Turkish word, written by the Greeks Τζερσεμπάς. Its inhabitants are chiefly Turks, occupying small villages. The soil produces good corn, but it is more particularly noted for saffron [1], which is sent by land to Germany, by the merchants of Kózani and Tzarítzena. When the trade of Egypt was closed by the consequences of the French invasion, the saffron of this country was worth 80 piastres the oke, but it has now fallen to 50 and 40. The only other district which produces it, is that of Vénja, on the opposite side of Mount Búrino,

[1] κρόκος.

and lying between Tjersembá and Grevená. The name Búrino appears to belong, like Vistrítza, to the ancient language of Macedonia, and may have been derived from the same root as Bora [1], Bermius, Bertiscus.

Beyond Búrino to the southward, is seen a ridge of nearly equal height, which takes a southerly direction towards Tríkkala, and separates the waters of the *Haliacmon* from those of the *Peneius*. They are the mountains anciently called Cambunii, a word of which βουνὸς is obviously the root. They form a continuation of the heights above Katafýghi, and at their foot, a few degrees to the right of the summit of *Olympus*, is seen the town of Sérvia, called Selfidjé by the Turks, a name which they attach also to the entire district stretching along the right bank of the Injékara, opposite to Tjersembá. In Tjersembá there are said to be remains of antiquity in four places, but in none of them are they described as being formed of that beautiful masonry which is so distinguishing a mark of Hellenic works. This the Kozanítes [1] very justly account for, by the nature of the stone of the sur-

[1] Bora seems to be nothing more than a modification of ὄρος preceded by β, which the Macedonians employed instead of the digamma or initial aspirate customary in other dialects. In Macedonic, according to Plutarch, (Qu. Græc.) and Stephanus (in Βέροια) φάλακρος, Φερενίκη and Φίλιππος were βάλακρος, Βερονίκη, Βίλιππος. Berrhœa seems in like manner to have been the same as Φεραὶ, a name common in other parts of Greece, and Beres and Beron, the same as Pheres and Pheron.

[1] Κοζανίταις.

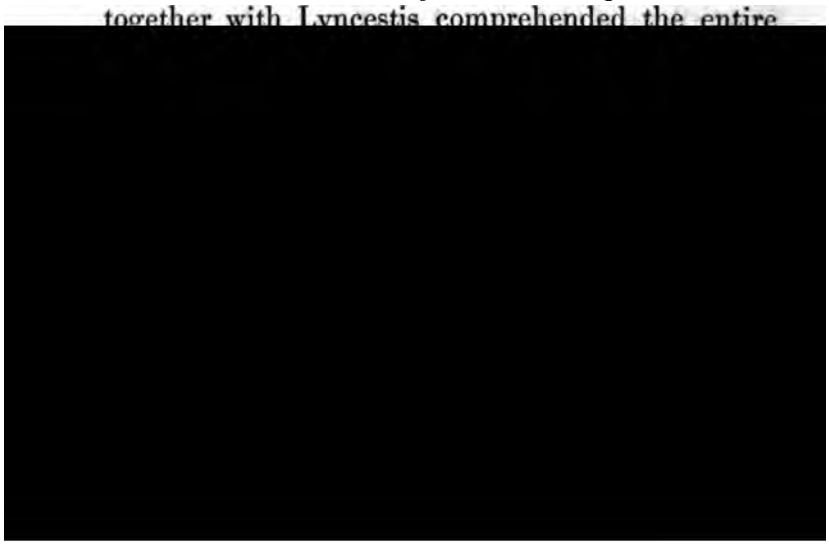
rounding mountains, which being brittle and incapable of being hewn into large blocks, apparently obliged the inhabitants of this part of Upper Macedonia, who moreover were semi-barbarous before the time of Philip son of Amyntas, to build in a manner different from that of the Southern Greeks. The four ruins are: 1. At Ktiniá, on the side of Mount Búrino, where a height is crowned by a castle having a double inclosure, and thin walls. 2. At Kaliáni, a small Greek village, three hours from Kózani, near the left bank of the Injékara, a little on this side of a boghaz leading from the valley of Tjersembá into that of Venja. Here are the remains of a building, of which my informant gave me a rude drawing. It was constructed with a double row of arches, of which the larger were supported by white marble columns, with Corinthian capitals, in bad taste. The building is in ruins on three sides, but the fourth still preserves the place where the statue is supposed to have stood. The arches have been walled to form it into a Greek church. The neighbouring fields are said to be strewed with broken pottery; coins also are often found, and sometimes small idols. 3. At Kesaría, about half way between Kózani and Sérvia, half an hour to the right of the direct road, are similar appearances, with fragments of marble and sepulchral monuments; and there are remains of the same kind also between Kesaría and Kaliáni. So deficient are the ancient details of Macedonian geography, that no opinion can be given of these places, further than that one of them

bore the common name of Καισαρία, and that they were all subordinate towns of the *Elimeia*, for that Elimeia extended thus far to the eastward, and here bordered upon Eordæa and Pieria, seems evident from Livy, in a passage already referred to, where he relates that Perseus marched from Citium to the lake Begorrites in Eordæa, from thence to the Haliacmon in Elimeia, and on the following day into *Perrhæbia*, which lies immediately to the southward of Tjersembá on the western side of Mount *Olympus*, whence it is evident that the encampment of Perseus, previously to his entering Perrhæbia, was exactly on this part of the river. As it is equally manifest from other authorities that *Elimeia* extended westward to the range of *Pindus*, it may be defined as comprehending the modern districts of Grevená, Venja and Tjersembá. Of the three other subdivisions of Upper Macedonia, namely, *Eordæa*, *Orestis* and *Lyncestis*, *Eordæa* comprehended probably, as I have before remarked, the modern districts of Budjá, Saríghiul and 'Ostrovo—*Orestis* those of Grámista, Anaselítza and Kastoría—and *Lyncestis*, Filúrina and all the southern part of the basin of the *Erigon*. These seem to have been all the districts which properly belonged to Upper Macedonia, the country to the northward, as far as Illyria westward, and Thrace eastward, constituting Pæonia, a part of which (probably, on the Upper Axius) was a separate kingdom as late as the reign of Cassander[1], but which in its widest

[1] Diodor. l. 20, c. 19.

sense enveloped on the north and north-east both Upper and Lower Macedonia, the latter containing the maritime and central provinces, which were the earliest acquisition of the kings, namely, Pieria, Bottiæis, Emathia, and Mygdonia. Even a part of these was occupied by Pæonians before the establishment of the Macedonian monarchy.

Pæonia extended to the Dentheletæ and Mædi of Thrace and to the Dardani, Penestæ and Dassaretii of Illyria, comprehending the various tribes who occupied the upper valleys of the Erigon, Axius, Strymon, and Angitas, as far southward as Sirrhæ inclusive. Its principal tribes to the eastward were the Odomanti, Æstræi and Agrianes, parts of whose country were known by the names of Parstrymonia and Paroreia, the former containing probably the valleys of the Upper Strymon and of its great tributary the river of Strúmitza (*Æstræus?*) the latter the adjacent mountains. On the western frontier of Pæonia, its subdivisions bordering on the part of Illyria inhabited by the Penestæ and Dassaretii were Deuriopus and Pelagonia, which together with Lyncestis comprehended the entire



to Pelagonia, and as Bryanium, placed by Strabo in Deuriopus, was near the passes leading into Eordæa, and consequently in Lyncestis, it is evident that no exact definition of these districts prevailed, at least among the ancient writers whose works have reached us. Lyncestis, although originally a part of Pæonia, having become a separate kingdom, which was annexed to Macedonia as early as the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas, may, with reference to a later period, be ascribed to Upper Macedonia; at the same time that all beyond it, to the sources of the Erigon, was still a portion of Pæonia, the whole of which, however, was united to regal Macedonia before the Macedonic wars of Rome.

There is no occurrence in ancient history which better illustrates the ancient geography of that part of the country than the operations of the consul Sulpicius against Philip, in the campaign of the year B.C. 200[1]. Philip, who flattered himself that he should be able to deprive the Romans of the assistance of the Ætolians and Dardani, had for the purpose of preventing the entrance of the latter people into Macedonia, stationed his son Perseus in the passes of Pelagonia, when the consul having marched from Apollonia of Illyria through Dassaretia into Lyncestis, there encamped on the banks of the Bevus, and from thence sent foraging parties into Dassaretia, where the corn of the open country had already enabled him, on passing through that district, to save the supplies which he brought with him from his winter quarters.

[1] Liv. l. 31, c. 33, et seq.

One of his parties having suddenly encountered a body of Philip's cavalry who were in quest of information, an action ensued, with a loss nearly equal on both sides. Upon learning the force and position of the enemy, Philip found it prudent to recal Perseus from the passes of Pelagonia, and having thus brought together 20,000 men, he occupied a height distant only 200 paces from the Roman camp, and which he fortified with a ditch and rampart. On the third ensuing day, the consul having drawn forth his line at a distance of 500 paces from the enemy, Philip ordered out 700 of his cavalry, attended by the same number of light infantry; these the enemy met with an equal body of horse and foot, and obtained an advantage, the Greeks having shown themselves, in both kinds of force, inferior in firmness to the Romans, and the velites of the latter being much better armed than the Illyrians and Cretans who accompanied the Macedonian cavalry.

Two days afterwards, Philip equally failed in drawing the enemy into an ambuscade of peltastæ, whom he had stationed during the previous night

inactive in their respective positions until the Roman foragers had become negligent of their security, when the king advancing suddenly with all his cavalry, and some Cretan infantry, cut off the Roman foragers from their camp, and slew many of them. The consul, upon being made acquainted with the occurrence, advanced his legions in a close column and sent forward his cavalry, who came to action with the king. At first Philip had the superiority, but at length he was defeated, and lost 300 horsemen, of whom a third were made prisoners, and the rest were killed or perished in some neighbouring marshes. The king himself was nearly taken, having wandered for some time in the marshes before he recovered his camp. He now resolved upon a retreat, being partly actuated by the report that the Dardani, under Pleuratus, were approaching. He concealed this intention from his adversary by a proposal for a truce to bury the dead, and by lighting fires in his camp at night, while he was retiring towards the mountains.

The consul remained several days in the same position, ignorant of the enemy's movements, when, having exhausted the supplies of the neighbouring country, he removed to Stymbara, and from thence, after having collected the corn from the fields of Pelagonia, to Pluvina, still ignorant of the motions of Philip, who had in the meantime encamped at Bryanium, and having better information of his opponent's proceedings, alarmed the Romans by suddenly approaching them, but did not venture to bring on an action. The

Romans then proceeded to encamp on the river Osphagus, while Philip entrenched himself at no great distance on the bank of the Erigon, when, perceiving that the Romans intended to cross the mountains into Eordæa, he retired, and fortified the passes with trees, stones, ditches, and ramparts. But from these works he derived little benefit. The Romans forced or turned them without difficulty, chiefly because the Macedonian phalanx was useless and unmanageable in such a narrow and rugged field of action. Philip having retired, the Romans ravaged the fields of Eordæa, entered Elimeia, and from thence moved into Orestis. Here the consul received the submission of Celetrum, and from thence, proceeding into Dassaretia, took Pelium, "a town conveniently placed for making incursions into Macedonia," and having placed a garrison in this place, he returned with his captives and plunder to Apollonia.

This narrative, extracted undoubtedly from Polybius, seems so clear, that a traveller commanding sufficient leisure and security might hope to determine the position of the first encampment

to have been at Lyncus, on the river Bevus[1], and as Lyncus is described as a town by Stephanus[2], it might be supposed that Heracleia was sometimes called Lyncus, and that the camp of Sulpicius was at Heracleia itself. But notwithstanding the words "ad Lyncum" seem to favour this opinion, it is more likely that Polybius employed Lyncus on this occasion in the same sense which we find attached to it in two other passages of Livy, as well as in Thucydides and Plutarch[3]; that is to say, as synonymous with Lyncestis, or the country of the Lyncestæ, once a small independent kingdom, and afterwards a province of the Macedonian monarchy.

Lychnidus and Heracleia lying nearly in the line between Dyrrhachium, or Apollonia, and Thessalonica, were the principal places in the centre of the Candavian or Egnatian way—the great line of communication by land between Italy and the East, between Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. A road of such importance, and on which the distance had been marked with milestones soon after the Roman conquest of Macedonia, we may believe to have been kept in the best order, as long as Rome was the centre of a vigorous authority; but it probably shared the fate of many other great establishments in the decline of the empire, and especially

[1] Ad Lyncum stativa posuit prope flumen Bevum.—Liv. l. 31, c. 33.

[2] Λύγκος, πόλις Ἠπείρου. Στράβων ἑβδόμῃ.—Stephan. in voce. No such name, however, is found in our copies of Strabo, who mentions only the Lyncestæ: and the ethnographer is obviously wrong as to Epirus.

[3] Liv. l. 26, c. 25; l. 32, c. 9. Thucyd. l. 4, c. 83. 124. —Plutarch in Flamin.

when it became as much the concern of the Byzantine as of the Roman government. Of this we discover some strong symptoms in the Itineraries; for although Lychnidus, Heracleia, and Edessa, still continued, as on the Candavian way described by Polybius, to be the three principal points between Dyrrhachium and Thessalonica, nature in fact having strongly drawn that line in the valley of the Genusus, branching from the maritime country of Illyria, and penetrating Mount Candavia in the same easterly direction in which the vale of the river of Edessa issues into the plains of Lower Macedonia, there appears to have been a choice of routes over the ridges which contained the boundaries of Illyria and Macedonia, and which separate the lake of *Lychnidus* from the valleys watered by the *Erigon* and its branches[1]: a strong

[1] Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἡ Ἐγνατία ἐστὶν ὁδὸς πρὸς ἕω, βεβηματισμένη κατὰ μίλιον καὶ κατεστηλωμένη μέχρι τῶν Μακεδόνων. Ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Βαρνοῦντα, διὰ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Λυγκηστῶν καὶ Ἐορδῶν εἰς Ἔδεσσαν καὶ Πέλλαν

[redacted]

indication that the great Roman work was out of repair. In the original road described by Polybius, the portion between Lychnidus and Heracleia led through Pylon, which received that name from its being the limit of the two provinces. The Antonine Itinerary gives two routes in this part; one passing through Scirtiana (Scirtonia[1]?) and Castra, the other through Nicia (Nicæa?), which is the same as that in the Tabular Itinerary[2]. In the Jerusalem the road passes through Brucida (Brygiada, *i. e.* Brygias[3]?) and Parembole.

Now there seems little doubt that these names Castra, Parembole, and Nicæa, have reference to the military transactions of the Romans in Lyncestis, who not many years after those events constructed a road, which happened to pass exactly over the

Scampis 21, Trajectus 9, Candavia 9, in tabernas 9, Claudanon 9, Patras 4, Lychnidum 12, Brucida 13, Parembole 19, Heracleia 12.—It. Hierosol, p. 606.

This route has been reversed, and some of the names corrected, in order to furnish a better comparison with the other Itineraries.

Dyrrhachio, Clodiana 31, Scampis 20, ad Genusum 9, ad Dianam 7, in Candavia 9, Pons Servilii 9, Lychnido 19, Nicea 16, Heracleia 11.—Tab. Peutinger, segm. 5.

[1] Ptolemy, l. 2, c. 17, couples the Pirustæ and Scirtones as Illyrian tribes near Macedonia, and the Pirustæ we know from Polybius (l. 5, c. 108) and from Livy (l. 45, c. 26) to have been a people of Dassaretis.

[2] A station has been omitted in the Table between Lychnidus and Nicæa, the total distance from Lychnidus to Heracleia being only half of that in the Jerusalem, and seventeen or eighteen miles less than in the Antonine.

[3] Βρύξ, *τὸ ἔθνος καὶ* Βρυγαί . . . . . *εἰσὶ δὲ Μακεδονικὸν ἔθνος προσεχὲς Ἰλλυριοῖς.*—Stephan. in voce. See also in Βρυγίας, Βρύγων, each described as a *πόλις Μακεδονίας*, but probably one and the same place.

scene of the former exploits of their army. Castra or Parembole, therefore, indicates the first encampment of Sulpicius on the Bevus; and Nicæa the place where he obtained the advantage over Philip's cavalry, near Octolophus, which was eight miles distant from the first encampment: consequently, Nicæa was about eight Roman miles from Parembole or Castra—and probably to the northward of it, because after the battle near Octolophus, the consul proceeded in a northerly direction to Stymbara, in search of provisions, having already exhausted the country around Heracleia. It appears, therefore, that Nicæa, Parembole, and Heracleia, formed a triangle, of which the sides were 8, 11, and 12 M. P. in length; that the northern route from Lychnidus descended upon Nicæa, or Octolophus, and the two southern upon Parembole, or Castra, on the river Bevus: this was evidently the southern branch of the Erigon, near the issue of which into the plains *Heracleia* might be sought for, and nearer to its sources the town of *Beve*[1]. As to the route described by Polybius through Pylon, the names which he mentions

ἡ ἐσβολὴ τῆς Λύγκου, in relating the attempt of Perdiccas against Lyncestis, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian War, which ended in a separate negotiation between his ally Brasidas and Arrhibæus king of the Lyncestæ [1]. It was by the same pass that Brasidas, in the following year, effected a skilful retreat from the Lyncestæ and Illyrians [2], when, having descended into the plains of Lyncus with Perdiccas and a joint force, composed of 3000 hoplitæ, 1000 cavalry, and a large body of barbarians of Thrace, they were obliged to retreat in consequence of the Illyrians, who had promised to join Perdiccas, having suddenly ranged themselves on the side of Arrhibæus. The Macedonians of Perdiccas, and the undisciplined barbarians, having taken the alarm, moved tumultuously in the night, and rendered it necessary for the king himself to accompany them without communicating with Brasidas, who was stationed with his forces at some distance. Thus abandoned, the Spartan general began his retreat on the following morning towards the pass, forming his hoplitæ in a square, placing his light-armed within it, and covering the retreat of this body with 300 chosen men under his own command. He thus not only resisted the attacks of the enemy, but having seized upon one of the heights which bordered the entrance of the pass, prevented them from intercepting him in it. He was then allowed to retreat without farther molestation, and arrived the same day at Arnissa, the first town in the territory of Perdiccas. *Arnissa*, therefore, seems to have been in the vale of

[1] Thucyd. l. 4, c. 83.

[2] Thucyd. l. 4, c. 124, et seq.

'Ostrovo, and possibly it may have been the same place as the Barnus of Polybius, B being a common Macedonian prefix; for the words of Strabo are not imperative in placing Barnus between Lychnidus and Heracleia, although bearing undoubtedly that interpretation.

It is from the remark of Polybius that the Candavian way passed through the country of the Eordæi, in proceeding from that of the Lyncestæ to Edessa [1], together with the historical authorities just referred to, and that other passage in the Latin historian, wherein he describes the march of Perseus from Citium in Lower Macedonia, through Eordæa into Elimeia, and to the Haliacmon [2], that we obtain a knowledge of the exact situation of *Eordæa*, which thus appears to have extended along the western side of Mount *Bermius*, comprehending 'Ostrovo and Katránitza to the north, Saríghioli in the middle, and to the southward the plains of Djumá, Budjá, and Karaiánni, as far as the ridges near Kózani and the Klisúra of Siátista, which seem to be the natural boundaries of the province. The only Eordæan town noticed in history is Physcus, of which Thucydides remarks, that near it there still remained some of the descendants of the Eordæi, who had been expelled from all other parts of Eordæa by the Temenidæ [3]. But there is some reason to add to this name those of Begorra and Galadræ as Eordæan towns, the *Begorrites lacus*, to which Perseus marched from Citium, having probably been so called from a town of *Begorra;* which stood

[1] Ap. Strabon, p. 323, v. sup.

[2] Liv. l. 42, c. 53.

[3] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 99.

perhaps at Kaliári, by the Turks called Saríghiul, the central and otherwise advantageous position of which leads also to the conjecture that it may have been the city Eordæa of later times [1]. As Lycophron couples Galadræ with the land of the Eordæi, and as Stephanus attributes that town to Pieria [2], it might best be sought for at the southern extremity of Eordæa, towards the *Haliacmon* and the frontiers of *Pieria*, its territory having consisted chiefly perhaps of the plains of Budjá and Djumá. If Galadræ was in the southern part of the province, and Begorra in the middle, Physcus was probably to the northward, about Katránitza, towards the mountains of the *Bermian* range, such a situation being the most likely to have preserved the ancient race [3].

The modern routes over the mountains which separated *Lyncus* from *Eordæa*, are, from Tilbelí to 'Oslova, to the eastward, and from Bánitza to 'Ostrovo to the westward: the former is in the ordinary route from Bitólia to Vodhená; the latter from Filúrina to the same place. Although Filúrina is nearer than Bitólia to the site of *Heracleia*, I should conceive the *Egnatian Way* to have crossed by the former route, as it descends into

[1] Hierocl. p. 638.

[2] . . . . . Γαλάδρης τὸν στρατηλάτην λύκον.
Lycophr. v. 1444.
Χώραν τ' Ἐορδῶν καὶ Γαλαδραῖον πέδον.
Ib. v. 1342.—Stephan. in Γαλάδραι.

[3] Ptolemy, l. 3, c. 13, classes three towns under the Eordæi of Macedonia; but as Scampæ is one of them, he has evidently confounded the Eordæi with the Eordeti, an Illyrian people.

the *Eordæan* valleys nearer to the situation of *Edessa*. The only place which the three Itineraries agree in placing between Heracleia and Edessa, is Cellæ, but the distances given are too conflicting to lead to any certainty as to its position.

At or near Bánitza are the mineral acidulous waters of *Lyncestis*, much renowned among the ancients, who imagined that they possessed intoxicating qualities[1]; they were noticed by Dr. Browne in the year 1669[2].

Although Livy employs the name Pelagonia in his narrative of the campaign of Sulpicius only as that of a large district containing Stymbara, it is evident from his account of the division of Macedonia into four provinces after the Roman conquest, that if not at the former period of time, thirty-three years later at least, Pelagonia was the appellation of the chief town of the Pelagones, which then became the capital of the Fourth Macedonia[3]. It was perhaps not specifically employed as the name of a town until the two other cities of Pelagonia were ruined: for that Pelagonia or a portion of it once contained three we may infer from the adjunct

three towns bore the same name as the Azorus of Perrhæbia Tripolitis[1]. The name Pelagonia still exists as the designation of the Greek metropolitan bishopric, of which the see is Bitólia, or Monastíri[2], which latter Greek name the Turks have adopted. Bitólia is now the chief place of the surrounding country, and the ordinary residence of the governor-general of Rumilí. At or near the town are many vestiges of ancient buildings of Roman times. These the natives suppose to have belonged to a city named Tripolis[3]: a tradition

[1] Ὁ δὲ Ἐριγῶν πολλὰ δεξάμενος ῥεύματα ἐκ τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν ὀρῶν καὶ Λυγκηστῶν καὶ Βρυγῶν, καὶ Δευριόπων καὶ Πελαγόνων εἰς τὸν Ἄξιον ἐκδίδωσι. Πρότερον μὲν οὖν καὶ πόλεις ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις. Τριπολῖτις γοῦν ἡ Πελαγονία ἐλέγετο, ἧς καὶ Ἄζωρος ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐριγῶνι πᾶσαι αἱ τῶν Δευριόπων πόλεις ᾤκηντο, ὧν τὸ Βρυάνιον καὶ Ἀλκομεναὶ καὶ Στύμβαρα.—Strabo, p. 327.

[2] ἡ Μπιτώλια, τὸ Μοναστήριον.

[3] The following are some inscriptions which were found among the ruins called those of Tripolis, in an excavation made in that spot in the search of building materials in the year 1808. They were communicated to me by Alý Pashá, who at the same time presented me with a Hermaic bust, and a head which seems to have formed part of another. The former is in perfect preservation, and is inscribed with the name ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ. An engraving of it has been published by Mr. Millingen. — Anc. uned. Monuments Series 2 pl. 9.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM BITOLIA.

1.

On a square stele, five feet high and two feet and a half square, adorned with mouldings in the usual taste of the declining Roman Empire.

Μακεδόνων οἱ Σύνεδροι Μάρκιαν Ἀκύλιαν, Φαβρικιανοῦ Ἀπέρος θυγατέρα, ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ.

2.

On a similar stele—

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ· Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων Μάνλιαν Ποντείαν

which accords with the existence of a Pelagonia Tripolitis as attested by Strabo, and which is not adverse to the identity of Tripolis with the city Pelagonia of Livy, since it is easy to conceive that after the reduction of the two other towns of the Tripolitis (and Strabo asserts that all the towns on the Erigon, Stymbara included, were ruins in his time), the surviving city may have been known by the name of Tripolis, as formed from the three former towns, and that it may also have been often known by the name of the district, Pelagonia. Bitólia being a word of Greek origin, may possibly be a corruption of a third name of the same place, or that which the city bore when the three towns of Pelagonia still existed: the Hellenic name most resembling it is Epitalia.

The passes of Pelagonia, in which Perseus was stationed by his father Philip, I take to have been the passage over the mountains in the modern

Λουκύλλαν Ἀφρικάνην Αὔλου Ποντίου Βήρου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Ἀνθυπάτου γυναῖκα ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν.

3.

On a quadrangular stele unadorned, two feet and a half high and two feet broad—

Νικανδρος στρατιώτης ζῶν ἀνέθηκεν ἑαυτοῦ κὲ πεδίου κὲ Τερτίας τῆς σεμνοτάτης συμβίου . . . . . κὲ συναρεστενόντων τῶν μόνων θεοτατων μου τεκνεῶν . . . . . ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μνήμης χαριν.

4.

On a sepulchral marble—

Γλαφυρῶς ζώσαντι ἀνδρὶ μουσικῷ χρηστῷ Φιλίππῳ Ἑρμιόνη μνήμης χάριν.

5.

On another stele—

Ζωσοῦς Ἡρακλίᾳ τῇ θυγατρὶ μνήμης χαριν ἐτῶν κζ καὶ αὐτὴ ζῶσα ἐποιει.

6.

Αἰλιανὴ Ἰουλιανῷ.

7.

Φαῦλλαν . . . . ζώσαν Μ. Στερτίνιος Κοιντος μνήμης χαριν.

route from 'Akhridha to Bitólia, which now forms the main communication instead of the old line or lines of the *Via Egnatia*, that change having probably been caused by the circumstance that A'khridha and Bitólia being now the chief places instead of *Lychnidus* and *Heracleia*, and lying respectively to the northward of the two ancient places, have caused the road to assume a more northerly line in this part, and which has occurred the more easily, as anciently the Egnatia was here diverted from its direct line by the necessity of passing round either the northern or southern end of the lake Lychnidus, and had no advantage therefore in shortness over the present line.

The pass of Pelagonia was of great importance as one of the direct entrances from Illyria into Macedonia by the course of the river Drilon, now called Drin. Hence it was necessary for the kings of Macedonia to maintain strong garrisons in Lychnidus and some other positions on the lake, as well as in Stymbara and Heracleia. By means of these garrisons and the strength of the frontier, the kingdom was not so liable to invasion here as on the side of Scupi, which commanded the entrance from Dardania into the plains of the Upper Axius, and which place having been generally held by the Dardani, gave them great facilities of offence against Macedonia.

Stymbara or Stubera appears from Polybius and Livy to have stood in the most fertile part of the country, to the northward of Bitó-

lia[1]; a situation which accords with its having been the place from whence Perseus marched in three days to Uscana, the chief town of the Penestiana[2], situated probably on the *Drilon*, at or near the modern Dibre. *Stymbara* would seem to have been near Prîllapo, by the Turks called Pýrlepe, and Pluvina, between Stymbara and Bryanium which was not far from the passes leading into Eordæa. If Strabo is correct in naming Alcomenæ as a town on the Erigon, its situation appears to have been above Bryanium, for below that town, or between it and the junction of the Erigon with the Axius, the Tabular Itinerary shows that we ought to place Euristus (the orthography is not quite certain) and Stobi. By Ptolemy both these towns are ascribed to Pelagonia, and by other authorities Stobi is designated a city of Pæonia; but these, and some other conflicting testimonies of the same kind, are reconciled, if we admit that Deuriopus was sometimes considered a subdivision of Pelagonia, and the latter sometimes a subdivision of Pæonia.

I have already remarked how exactly Livy's description of Celetrum, as well in relative position as in its situation on a peninsula in a lake, agrees with Kastoría. By means of this datum we have the exact course of the march of Sulpicius on his return from Pelagonia into Dassaretia. From *Eordæa* or Saríghioli he crossed a part of the plain

[1] Polyb. l. 28, c. 8. Liv. l. 31, c. 39.

[2] Liv. l. 43, c. 10, 18.

of Grevená, and through Anaselítza to Kastoría, from whence his route to *Pelium* in *Dassaretia* could have been no other than through the pass of Tzangón, which, being the only interruption in the great dorsal ridge of Northern Greece, was undoubtedly one of the most frequented of the communications between the two sides of the country, and particularly from *Orestis* into *Dassaretia*. It was precisely near Pelium that Arrian describes a remarkable pass, through which flowed the Eordaicus, leaving in one part space only for four shields abreast[1]; a description which corresponds so exactly with the pass of Tzangón, both as to the river and the breadth of one part of the pass, that the identity can hardly be questioned. Pelium was situated at the foot of a woody mountain, near the pass; a description which may be applied either to Pliássa or to Póyani, but the former has the preference by its name, which seems to be a vulgar sounding of Πηλιάσσα.

The march of Alexander in approaching Pelium, as well as his subsequent progress to Pelinnæum in Thessaly, may furnish some further illustrations of the relative chorography. He was returning from an expedition against the Getæ, who dwelt beyond the Danube, and had arrived in the country of the Agrianes and Pæones, when he received intelligence that Clitus and Glaucias, who shared between them all maritime Illyria, had declared against him, and had prevailed upon the Autariatæ to attack him on the route. But Langarus, king of

[1] Arrian. de exp. Alex. l. 1, c. 5.

the Agrianes, having frustrated the latter design by invading the country of the Autariatæ, Alexander was enabled to march without interruption along the Erigon, and from thence to Pelium[1], near which the Illyrians were encamped. After some operations which are not very clearly described, he surprised the Illyrian camp in the night, when Glaucias fled, pursued by Alexander as far as the mountains of the Taulantii, while Clitus retired into Pelium, from whence, after having burnt the city, he proceeded to join Glaucias in Taulantia. Soon after this event Alexander received advice of the revolt of Thebes, when, crossing Eordæa and Elimeia, and passing the mountains of the Tymphæi and Paravæi, he arrived in seven days at Pelinnæum in Thessaly.

Without the comparison afforded by Livy's account of the proceedings of Sulpicius, it might be supposed from the circumstances stated by Arrian, that Pelium was not far from the Erigon, or the name Eordaicus might lead to the impression that Pelium was in Eordæa, instead of having been upon a river which flows to the western

dæa, the historian has probably omitted to mention that Alexander returned home to Pella before he received intelligence of the revolt of Thebes: on which supposition the road to Pelinnæum would have led through the centre, first of Eordæa and then of Elimeia, as Arrian relates.

If the situation of Pelium as deduced from the combined evidence of Arrian and Livy be correct, it will follow that *Dassaretia* comprehended not only the great valley which contains the lake of *Lychnidus*, but also the plain of Korytzá: and that plain being an extensive corn country, the inference accords with that abundance of grain in Dassaretia which enabled Sulpicius to save his own stock while he passed through that district, and which induced him afterwards to send back his foragers thither, though he was encamped in an equally fertile plain, but of which he had not the same military possession.

The western part of *Dassaretia* was a contrast to the eastern, consisting entirely of lofty and rugged mountains intersected by branches of the river *Apsus:* its extent was very great. If Berát be the site of *Antipatria*, as I have shown some reason for supposing, it will follow that the *Dassaretæ* possessed all the mountainous country lying between Korytzá and Berát, beyond which latter the frontiers of the *Dassaretæ* met those of the *Taulantii*, *Bylliones*, and *Chaones* of *Epirus*. On the north they bordered on the Eordeti and Penestæ, and partly on the Taulantii, while to the eastward the crest of the great central ridge very naturally formed the line of demarcation between them and

the Pelágones, Brygi, and Orestæ, or in other words, between Illyria and Macedonia. It results from these boundaries that Dassaretia was not less than 60 miles in length, and as much in breadth, an extent such as we are in some measure led to expect from Polybius, who in addition to the towns on the lake of Lychnidus, represents the Phebatæ, Pissantini, Calicœni, and Pirustæ, all as tribes of Dassaretia [1].

The situation of some of these tribes may be deduced from the testimony of the same author, as preserved in the Latin text of Livy [2]. When Sulpicius was encamped on the Apsus between Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, before he advanced into Lyncestis, he sent Apustius against the neighbouring possessions of Philip [3]. Corragum, Gerrunium, and Orgessus, were captured, not without resistance; after which, Apustius laid siege to Antipatria, a large city in a narrow pass remarkable for the strength of its position and walls. Having taken this place he slew the men, destroyed the walls, burnt the town, and gave up

the plunder to his soldiers, which so intimidated the people of Codrion, that they surrendered to him, although their city was well garrisoned and fortified. Ilion, another town, was taken by force, after which the Romans, in returning to Sulpicius loaded with plunder, were attacked at the passage of the river by Athenagoras, one of the most distinguished of Philip's officers[1], but without suffering much damage.

Gerrunium (Gertunium?) and Codrion seem to be the same places which in the text of Polybius are written Gertus and Chrysondion, for he names them together with Antipatria as frontier places which Scerdilaïdas had taken from Philip, and which the latter retook in the second year of the Social war, B. C. 221. As Gerrunium and Antipatria were in Phœbatis, and Orgessus was a town of the Pissantini, it seems probable, assuming *Antipatria* to have been at Berát, that the *Phœbatæ* chiefly inhabited the valley of the Uzúmi, and the *Pissantini* that of the Devól; and that as *Gertunium* was attacked by Apustius before Antipatria, it was lower on the Uzúmi than Berát, perhaps, near the junction of the two rivers. To the eastward of it on the Devól, may be placed *Orgessus*, and somewhat nearer than either to the camp of Sulpicius, *Corragum* the first named

[1] Athenagoras was a purpuratus. He led the Macedonians at the first engagement of cavalry against Sulpicius in Lyncus. In the ensuing year he commanded the portion of the Macedonian army which was stationed on Mount Asnaus, at the Aoi fauces, and he had the honour of repulsing the Romans in the battle of Cynoscephalæ.

of the three. *Codrion* and *Ilium* seem to have been in the valley of the Uzúmi above Berát on the slopes of Tomór. This great mountain still bears probably its ancient name, of which the Greek form was *Tomarus*. It is easy to conceive that, like the names of mountains and rivers in general, Tomór was a generic word belonging to the aboriginal language of Epirus, and that hence it became attached also to the more celebrated mountain near Dodona. The ancient fortress near the modern village of Tomór may, like that village, have borne the same name as the mountain itself, according to a custom which seems to have been prevalent in Greece in every age.

In the same chapter of Polybius just referred to, the historian proceeds to relate that Philip, after having recovered the three towns of Phœbatis abovementioned, proceeded to capture other places in Dassaretia, namely, Creonium and Gerions, (not the same place as Gertus,) and four towns on the lake Lychnitis, namely, Enchelariæ, Cerax, Sation, and Bœi, then Bantia of the Calicœni, and Orgessus of the Pissantini. That the

least may have approached the southern end of the lake obliquely from the pass of Candavia, so as entirely to avoid the western shore. I am inclined to believe that the road in the Jerusalem itinerary passed round the southern end of the lake, and that Patræ was situated at that extremity.

The Pirustæ would seem to have been on the northern frontier of Dassaretia, as they joined the Taulantii and some other more northerly Illyrians, to assist the Romans in the reduction of Gentius[1]. They probably occupied an intermediate tract between the *Pissantini*, on the lower part of the Devól, and the southern extremity of the lake *Lychnitis*, in which case there seems to remain only the plain of Korytzá to the left of the *Eordaicus* for the situation of the *Calicæni*. Possibly Korytzá may be the site of *Bantia*.

Dec. 6.—Quitting Kózani for Servia at 7.45, Turkish time, we leave Akbunár, by the Greeks called Nízvoro, or 'Izvoro, not far to the left, at the extremity of the vineyards of Kózani, then descend over downs covered with corn-fields, and interspersed with small villages, until at 8.45, Hadjirán, about the same size as Akbunár, is $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant on the left of the road at the foot of the Ghioz-tepé: all these places are Turkish. At 10.6 we arrive at the river Injékara, or Vistrítza, which is bordered by white cliffs along the left bank, and on the opposite side by low level ground: follow the sands on the bank of the river for nine minutes, then cross it in a broad flat-bottomed boat,

[1] Liv. l. 45, c. 26.

capable of containing ten or twelve horses, and in an hour and 8 minutes from the river reach Sérvia, having passed over rich meadows and a fertile plain, beyond which is an ascent of 20 minutes to the town.

Sérvia[1] contains about 500 Turkish houses, and a few Greek. It is situated on the northern side of an opening, in the ridge which commences at the gorges of the Vistrítza, near Vérria, and terminates in the mountains of Khassiá, to the north of Trikkala. The most valuable produce of the fields of Sérvia is a small species of tobacco, bearing a yellow leaf like that of Yenidjé. The streets of the town are bordered with the herb which is hung to dry along the sides and galleries of the houses, as well as round the yards attached to all the better class of houses.

Dec. 7.—The episcopal church of Sérvia, which stands on a height rising from the lowest part of the mountain behind the town, is now in ruins, and the bishop's house, which is in the town, is not in much better condition, though he still occupies it. The bishop, whom I visit this morning, supposes

edly, if the apostle crossed Mount *Bermius*, Sérvia was in his way to Athens by Larissa, but it does not appear whether he went to Athens by sea or by land; and even if we suppose the words ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν[1] to mean, that in order to elude his enemies he departed from Berrhœa to the coast "as if he intended to embark," but that in reality he travelled by land, it is much more probable that he should have continued his way through *Pieria* and by the direct and level road of *Tempe*, or even by the pass of Petra, than that he should have made a circuitous journey over two ranges of mountains.

Having dismissed the guards who were furnished to me by Metjobón at Vérria, I take six others from Alý Pashá's derventjí at Sérvia, who is an Albanian Mussulman of Kolónia, and set out for Livádhi, first visiting a ruined castle on the summit of the hill above the episcopal church, and accompanied so far by the Albanian commandant, who when he finds that I have some knowledge of the distant objects in view from the castle, shows great satisfaction in answering all my geographical questions, for which he is well qualified by his extensive knowledge of Macedonia, acquired in the course of his military services.

All Tjersembá is seen from hence, inclosed by Mount Búrino and the Ghioz-tepé; between which summits the mountain of Siátista shows itself nearly in a line with Kózani, and beyond it to the

[1] Act. Apost. c. 17, v. 14.

left Siniátziko; a little to the right of the latter Peristéri is also seen, which looks down on the plains of the *Erigon* and Bitólia. To the north-eastward rises the great Dhoxá, or *Bermius*, and to the right of it is seen Velvedhós, or Velvendós [1], a town of 300 houses, which, though conspicuous by its minaret, is chiefly inhabited by Greeks. Velvedhó is 3 hours distant from Sérvia, and similarly situated on the same mountain; it lies in a line with the great ravine of the *Haliacmon*, through the opening of which appears the mountain above *Pella*.

The castle of Sérvia was so placed as to command the ascent to the Portes, as the highest point of the pass is called, which here conducts from the banks of the *Haliacmon* into the valleys watered by tributaries of the *Peneius*. Being the most direct and easy passage across the *Cambunian* ridge, it is the natural gate between *Macedonia* and *Perrhæbia*, and the position could not have been neglected by the ancients, though I have been unable to discover any Hellenic remains, either in the castle or town. It is now the most

fortification apparently of the same date as the castle, and once forming part of the same system of defence. The road to Tríkkala follows the eastern foot of the mountain as far as another opening between it and a round hill on the left, where it enters the valley of one of the branches of the *Titaresius*. This round hill, which is visible through the pass of Sérvia from Kózani, is called Vigla, a modern word equivalent to *Phyle*, and is said to retain some vestiges of an ancient fortress. Instead of passing through the Portes, I pursue a higher track along the southern face of the mountain, which stretches northward to Katafýghi and the gorges of the Vistrítza above Vérria. As we ascend, the peak of Samarína appears to the northwestward through the upper straits of the same river, or those which at the southern extremity of Mount Búrino, near Kaliáni, separate the plains or valleys of Grevená and Venjá from those of Tjersembá and Sérvia.

Our route all the way to Livádhi follows the side of the mountain, gradually ascending and crossing many deep ravines and rocky slopes of dangerous footing. At about half way we begin to look down to the right upon a plain which extends five or six miles from the foot of this mountain to another called Amárbes, in the direction of Dheminíko. Amárbes is the principal summit of the *Cambunii montes:* westward it is connected with another named Bunása, which rises from the left bank of the Vistrítza, opposite to Búrino. Amárbes is the great link which connects the *Olympene* chain behind Sérvia and Velvendó with the hills of

Khassiá. A small river flows through the middle of the plain on our right, and passes through a glen at its south-western end, near which it receives another stream from some copious sources issuing from the southern foot of Mount Amárbes, where the Livadhiótes have some fulling mills; then, after making a large angle to the eastward of its former course, enters another plain in which it is joined by the Elasonítiko, or River of Elasóna, at Amúri, a small village not far from Dheminíko. The united stream is the *Titaresius* of Homer, which joins the *Peneius* in the plain of Lárissa. The branch from the mountain of Livádhi is now called Vurgarí or Sarandáforo. At a small distance from its right bank, near the Boghaz, where it quits the plain, is a village named Vuvála, and a metókhi of the monastery of Elassóna, standing on a height at the foot of Mount Amárbes. The summit is encircled with the ruined walls of an ancient city of some magnitude. This place, which is near the road from Sérvia to Tríkkala, is reckoned three hours from Livádhi, and is less than one to the right of the road from Sérvia to Elassóna, which, after

plain within some miles of it. The town contains 800 houses, situated in a rocky hollow below a peak in the range of mountains which extend from hence as far as the maritime plain of Katerína, and the right bank of the Vistrítza, near Vérria. The highest summit of these mountains is a conspicuous object from Saloníki, and has already been mentioned as one of the chief points of the *Olympene* chain [1].

Livádhi is a Wallachian colony of ancient date, and is hence often called Vlakho-Lívadho. The other Vlakhiote villages in this vicinity are Kokkinopló, on the side of 'Elymbo, three hours' distant from hence towards Tzarítzena, Fterá at the same distance towards Katerína, and Neokhóri situated between Sérvia and Livádhi, in a lofty situation on the mountain, an hour to the left of the road by which we came. Kokkinopló has about 200 houses, Fterá 100, and Neo-khório 20 or 30. Near Fterá there is said to be an ancient quarry. These villages live chiefly by the manufacture of the coarse woollen cloth called skutí, of which are made the cloaks named κάππαις, in Italian cappe, extensively used in Greece and the Adriatic. The cloth is of two kinds, white and black, and is made shaggy in the inside: it is sent to Venice and Trieste in pieces called xyla, which are two peeks long and four or four and a half hands broad. The Kalarytiótes, who manufacture the same kind of cloth in their own mountains, and whose merchants reside in the Adriatic,

[1] See above, p. 297.

are in the habit of buying up that which is made by the Livadhiótes, and of sending it to some merchant, generally a Venetian, at Saloníki, who ships it to the Kalarytiote merchant in the Adriatic, charging two piastres and a half per fórtoma of 140 xyla as spedizionario. The Livadhiótes make annually from 150 to 200 fortómata. They grow very little corn, but possess an abundance of sheep, goats, horses, and mules. Like the Kalarytiótes, they are proud of the excellent air and water of their town, but are so nice on the subject of the latter as sometimes to send three hours, in order to procure the choicest. The lake of Kastoría supplies them with fish at twenty-five or thirty parás the oke, better than the sea-fish which is sold at Saloníki for forty-five. On the other hand, the climate is so severe in winter, that the inhabitants are sometimes snowed up in their houses for several days, and are forced to drink melted snow, not being able to get at their wells and springs. It is now a hard frost, and we found it very difficult on arriving to drag our loaded horses up the steep and slippery streets. The view of *Olympus* from

a monument of an Albanian chieftain, who was killed in fighting against the robbers of *Olympus* about thirty years ago.

It is now twenty-two years since Alý Pashá by his Dervent-Agalík obtained the command at Livádhi, since which time he has always been the farmer of its revenues. Its importance to him is chiefly derived from its proximity to the pass leading from Elasóna or Sérvia into the maritime plains of *Macedonia*, and which is at once the most direct and least difficult of the routes across the *Olympene* barrier. In this pass one hour and a half from Livádhi stands the village of Aio Dhimítri, and one hour and a half farther, exactly on the Zygós, are the ruins of the village of Petra, which being a name recorded in ancient history is very useful in elucidating the geography of this frontier of *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*. Petra is described to me as situated on a great insulated rock which is naturally σχισμένη, or separated from the adjoining mountain: the road passes through the opening and then descends into the plain of Katerína, which, being undoubtedly a part of the ancient Pieria of Macedonia, the situation of Petra thus illustrates Livy, who shows that Petra was a town of Pieria on the frontier of that province, in the pass which led into the maritime plain from Perrhæbia.[1] The distance from Livádhi to Katerína by St. Demetrius is reckoned ten hours. There is another road which leads over the same ridge from Sérvia, by Velvendós, to Katerína; but it is

[1] Liv. l. 39, c. 26; l. 44, c. 32; l. 45, c. 41.

not so easy as the pass of Petra: and it was a communication, if it existed anciently, not from Thessaly into Macedonia, but from Elimeia of Upper into Pieria of Lower Macedonia.

I have already observed, that the mountains which rise from the right bank of the Vistrítza, and extend from the plain of Grevená to that of Vérria, were the ancient Cambunii, mentioned by Livy, from whom it is further manifest, that the pass of Sérvia is the defile in the same mountains, named *Volustana*[1], the security of which appeared so important to Perseus on the approach of the consul Q. Marcius Philippus, in the third year of the last Macedonic war, that he occupied it with 10,000 men. It was probably the same pass through which Perseus had entered Thessaly in the first year of the war[2], the same by which the consul Hostilius invaded Macedonia in the following year, and one of the roads into

[1] Liv. l. 44, c. 2. In the word Volustana the V represents probably the B, which was so common an initial in Macedonian names of places; the two last syllables, *σταvὰ*, are perhaps the Macedonic form of *στενὰ*, and have reference to the pass, the entire name in Greek being *Βωλοῦ στενά*.

[2] Profectus inde (Perseus a Citio *sc.*) toto exercitu Eordæam petens, ad Begorritem quem vocant lacum positis castris, postero die in Elimeam ad Haliacmona fluvium processit. Deinde saltu superatis montibus, quos Cambunios vocant, descendit ad (Tripolim vocant) Azorum Pythium et Dolichen incolentes. Hæc tria oppida paulisper cunctata quia obsides Larissæis dederant, victa tamen præsenti metu in deditionem concesserunt. Benigne his adpellatis, haud dubius Perrhæbos quoque idem facturos, urbem, nihil cunctatis qui incolebant, primo adventu recepit. Cyretias obpugnare coactus, &c.—Liv. l. 42, c. 53.

Macedonia contemplated by Marcius when he was encamped between Azorus and Doliche, and before he had determined upon forcing his way across Mount Olympus by Lapathus[1]. Upon comparing the descriptions which the historian has left us of these transactions, there cannot remain a doubt that the valleys lying between the *Cambunian* mountains and *Olympus*, bordering to the northward on *Elimeia* and *Pieria*, and which extend from Portes and the mountain of Livádhi southward to within a few miles of Elasóna, constituted the division of *Perrhæbia* named *Tripolitis;* and it seems equally evident from two other occurrences, one of which happened in the first Macedonic war[2], the other in the campaign of Antiochus 9 years afterwards[3], that Perrhæbia proper,

[1] Aliis per Pythium placebat via (in Macedoniam *sc.*) aliis per Cambunios montes, qua priore anno duxerat Hostilius consul: aliis præter Ascuridem paludem . . . Per eosdem dies Perseus, quum adpropinquare hostem sciret, quod iter petiturus esset ignarus, omnes saltus insidere præsidiis statuit. In jugum Cambuniorum montium (Volustana ipsi vocant) decem millia levis armaturæ cum duce Asclepiodoto mittit; ad castellum quod super Ascuridem paludem erat (Lapathus vocatur locus) Hippias tenere præsidio jussus. Ipse cum reliquis copiis primo circa Dium, &c.—Liv. l. 44, c. 2.

[2] Timor omnes qui circumcolunt Bœben paludem, relictis urbibus, montes coegit petere. Ætoli, inopia prædæ inde aversi, in Perrhæbiam ire pergunt. Cyretias ibi vi capiunt fœdeque diripiunt: qui Mallæam incolunt voluntate in deditionem societatemque accepti. Ex Perrhæbia Gomphos petenti Amynander auctor erat, &c.—Id. l. 31, c. 41.

[3] Intra decimum diem, quum Pheras venerat, Cranonem . . . cepit (Antiochus *sc.*) inde Cypæram et Metropolim et iis circumjecta castella recepit: omniaque jam regionis ejus, præter Atracem et Gyrtonem, in potestate erant: tum adgredi

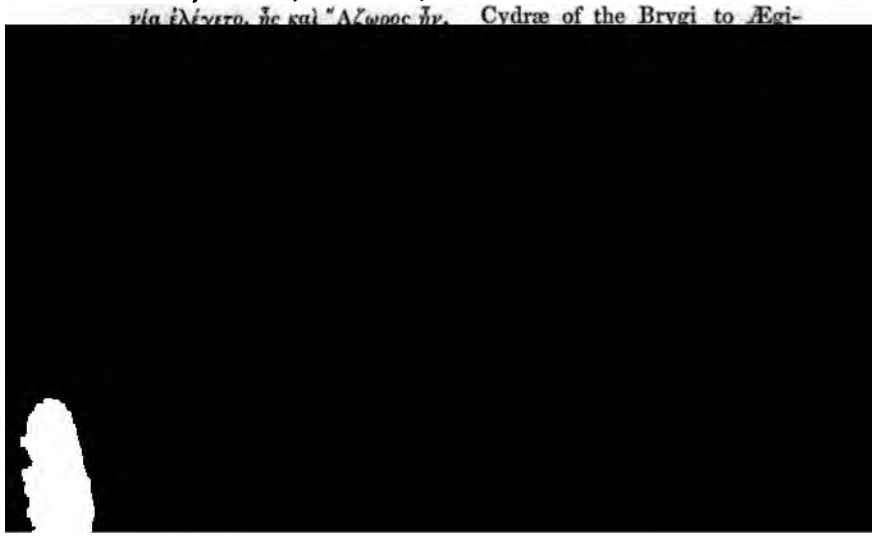
which contained the city of the Perrhæbi, Cyretiæ, and other towns, lay to the southward of the Tripolitis, confining on *Pelasgiotis* and the *Larissæa*, and that it comprehended the valleys of Elassóna and Dheminíko.

It is by means of these several passages of Livy, following Polybius, that we are enabled to clear up the obscurity which Strabo, or his defective text, have thrown on the geography of this quarter of Greece, by naming towns in conjunction which were very wide of each other, and by confounding Perrhæbia Tripolitis, with Pelagonia Tripolitis, which was near eighty miles distant[1].

Larissam constituit . . . Per eosdem dies Amynander . . . occupat Pelinnæum; et Menippus . . . in Perrhæbiam profectus Mallæam et Cyretias vicepit, depopulatusque est agrum Tripolitanum. His raptim peractis, Larissam ad regem redeunt.—Id. l. 36, c. 10.

[1] Τριπολῖτις γοῦν ἡ Πελαγονία ἐλέγετο, ἧς καὶ Ἄζωρος ἦν, πόλις Ὀξύνεια παρὰ τὸν Ἶονα ποταμὸν, ἀπέχουσα Ἀζώρου τῆς Τριπολίτιδος σταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· πλησίον δὲ καὶ αἱ Ἀλκομεναὶ καὶ Αἰγίνιον καὶ Εὔρωπος καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ἴονος εἰς τὸν Πήνειον συμβολαί.—Strabo, p. 327.

The most difficult part of this passage is the leap from Stymbara of the Deuriopes and Cydræ of the Brygi to Ægi-



Perrhæbia Tripolitis was so named as containing the three cities of Pythium, Azorus, and Doliche. Of these, Pythium appears to have stood exactly at the foot of Olympus, as well from its having been the point from which Xenagoras, a geometrician and poet, measured the perpendicular height of Olympus [1], as from its having been in the road across the mountain by Petra, since both Livy and Plutarch couple Pythium with Petra in describing the route by which Scipio Nasica crossed Mount Olympus into the rear of the position of Perseus on the Enipeus [2]. There seems no question, therefore, that *Pythium* stood on the angle of the plain between Kokkinopló and Livádhi, though I have not been able to ascertain the existence of any remains in that situation. We learn from the epigram just referred to, that the name of Pythium was derived from a temple of Apollo Pythius, in whose honour

Azorus, Alcomenæ, and Europus, were all names found both in Thessaly, and in Macedonia. There was an Alcomenæ on the Erigon, an Europus on or near the lower Axius, and there were cities of the same names in Upper Thessaly, near Æginium and the Ion.

[1] Οὐλύμπου κορυφῆς ἐπὶ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος
Ἱερὸν, ὕψος ἔχει (πρὸς κάθετον δ' ἐμέτρει)
Πλήρη μὲν δεκάδα σταδίων μίαν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῇ
Πλέθρων τετραπέδῳ λειπόμενον μεγέθει·
Εὐμήλου δέ μιν υἱὸς ἐθήκατο μέτρα κελεύθου
Ξειναγόρης· σὺ δ' ἄναξ χαῖρε καὶ ἑσθλὰ δίδου.
Xenagoras. ap. Plutarch. in P. Æmil.

[2] Liv. l. 44, c. 32. Plutarch. in Paul. Æmil.

it appears from another author that periodical games were there celebrated [1].

The ten stades of perpendicular altitude which Xenagoras assigned to the summit of Olympus above Pythium seem to be not far from the truth, and what is uncommon in ancient computations of this kind, the error is more probably in defect than in excess [2]. It may here be observed, that the name 'Elymbo, *i. e.* Ἔλυμπος, which is now applied to the mountain, not only by its inhabitants, but throughout the adjacent parts of *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, is probably not a modern corruption, but the ancient dialectic form, for the Æolic tribes of Greece often substituted the epsilon for the omicron, as in the instance of Ὀρχομενὸς, which the Bœotians called Ἐρχομενός.

If *Pythium* was in the situation which I have indicated, we may with some probability place *Azorus* at Vuvála; for, as Strabo remarks that Azorus was 120 stades distant from Oxyneia on the Ion [3], which was a branch of the Peneius, it may be inferred, whether the distance be correct or not, that *Azorus* was the most south-westerly

the military operations of the ancients. Xerxes sent his host this way into Perrhæbia, after having employed a third of his army then encamped in Pieria, in preparing the road[1]. Brasidas, after his rapid march across Thessaly and Perrhæbia, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, crossed by the same pass to Dium[2]. Agesilaus, returning into Greece from Asia Minor, in the year B. C. 394, entered Thessaly from Macedonia by the same route[3]. Cassander, in the year B. C. 316 traversed the same defile, in proceeding from the Peloponnesus against Olympias at Pydna[4]. And lastly, it furnished to L. Æmilius Paullus, in the year B. C. 168, the means of forcing Perseus to retreat from his strong position on the Enipeus, as soon as he learnt that Scipio Nasica had overthrown the Macedonian garrison at Petra, and was descending into the plains in the rear of the king's position on the Enipeus[5].

Dec. 8.—From Livádhi to Elassóna 5 hours. At 4.50, Turkish time, we descend the mountain, and having reached its foot at the end of an hour and a half, soon leave to the right the plain of the Sarandáforo and enter a valley separated from it by a small ridge of hills which branches northward from the heights of Elassóna. At the northern extremity of this ridge are some remains of a fortress on the summit of a peaked hill, which we

[1] Herodot. l. 7, c. 132.

[2] Thucyd. l. 4, c. 78.

[3] *τὴν αὐτὴν διεξιὼν χώραν, ἣν καὶ Ξέρξης ἐπορεύθη.*—Diodor. l. 14, c. 83.

[4] Diodor. l. 19, c. 35.

[5] Liv. l. 44, c. 35.

leave a little on our right, and a few minutes afterwards arrive at the small village of Dúklista, situated at the foot of the same heights, where in a ruined church are two fragments of Doric columns 2 feet 8 inches in diameter, and in the burying ground a sepulchral stone, together with some squared blocks. These remains, combined with the name Dúklista, seem to indicate the site of *Doliche*, the third city of the *Tripolitis*. Here Kokkinopló is two or three miles on the left, on the edge of the snow on the ascent of the steepest part of 'Elymbo; below it to the southward, at the foot of the mountain, is Selos, another large village. We now cross the plain towards the mountain, and at 6.50 fall into the road from Katerína to Elassóna. On the right, at a distance of about eight miles, on the summit of a ridge which is the continuation of the southern end of Amárbes, appears the village of Besharítza [1], and the large monastery of Ghianotá [2]. Four hours beyond them in the same direction is Dhissikáta, vulgarly Dhishkáta [3], a large village in the district of Khassiá, the mountains of which are seen extending to the southward and westward behind the hills of Bessarítza. At 7.30, continuing along the same valley, we leave Bazarlí a quarter of an hour on the left of the road, and at 8.10 Ormanlí, both large villages, and both Turkish as their names indicate. A mile farther some heights terminate the valley and separate it from that of Elassóna; having crossed these, we arrive at 9.50

[1] Μπεσσαρίτζα. [2] Γιανοτάς. [3] Δησσικάτα.

at the Panaghía of Elassóna, a large ancient monastery said to have been built by the emperor Andronicus.

The town of Elassóna lies below the monastery on the edge of the plain, and is divided into two parts by a rapid stream proceeding from an immense chasm which separates the great summit of *Olympus* from an inferior range which stretches from near Elassóna to *Tempe*, and borders the northern side of the *Larissæan* plain. This latter mountain I take to be the ancient Titarus, as the river now called the Elassonítiko is certainly the *Titaresius*, or *Eurotas*[1]. The height on which the monastery stands is defended on either side by a deep ravine, in the eastern flows the Elassonítiko, in the western a branch of it proceeding from the hills to the northward. Both these ravines, as well as those of some smaller torrents which open into them, consist of a white argillaceous soil worn into furrows by the waters, like that of Zákytho and many parts of *Achaia*, from which peculiarity, as Strabo remarks, Homer derived the epithet which he has applied to Oloosson[2]. Of this the Greeks of Elassóna are not ignorant; they add, that at Selos are some remains of the Homeric Elone, which, according to Strabo, was afterwards called Leimone[3].

[1] Strabo, p. 440.

[2] "Ορθην, Ἠλώνην τε, πόλιν τ' Ὀλοοσσόνα λευκήν.
Il. B. v. 739.

[3] Καὶ Ὀλοοσσὼν δὲ, λευκὴ προσαγορευθεῖσα ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκάργιλος εἶναι, καὶ Ἠλώνη Περραιβικαὶ πόλεις καὶ Γόννος. Ἡ

The modern name Elassóna can hardly be called a corruption, being in the usual Romaic form of the third case of Ἐλασσών, as Meletius writes the name. The initial E is only a dialectic variation, like Ἔλυμπος for Ὄλυμπος, and Ἐρχομενὸς for Ὀρχομενὸς, all which were probably the ordinary local forms, although Homer and subsequent writers may have preferred the O to the E, as being general in other parts of Greece. The third *o* in the Oloosson of Homer seems to have been inserted or omitted by the ancient poets as the verse happened to require it[1]; so that the corruption of the modern name is confined to the first *a*.

The hill of the monastery, defended by the two ravines, and in front falling abruptly to the plain, afforded a strong situation for the ancient city of Oloosson, or at least for its citadel. The only remains are a few fragments of walls, and some foundations behind and around the monastery, consisting of large masses of rough stones and mortar, without any accurately hewn blocks in the ancient style. These have probably been removed for modern use, particularly for that of building and repairing the monastery itself, in the walls of which some stones of this kind may be seen. In the church is an inscribed column, but

δ' Ἠλώνη μετέβαλε τοὔνομα Λειμώνη μετονομασθεῖσα· κατέσκαπται δὲ νῦν· ἄμφω δ' ὑπὸ τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ κεῖνται, οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν τοῦ Εὐρώτα ποταμοῦ, ὃν ὁ ποιητὴς Τιταρήσιον καλεῖ. — Strabo, p. 440.

[1] Περῥαιβικὴν
Γόνυν Φάλανόν τ' ἠδ' Ὀλοσσόνων γυίας.
Lycoph. v. 905.

the letters are so much defaced that I do not attempt to copy them. The library is well provided with good editions of the classics, brought from Germany by an Igúmenos, who had resided there 17 years, and who died here not long ago; since which there has been nobody capable of reading these books, the present monks being as ignorant and clownish as those of Mount Athos. I purchase from them a colossal votive hand of bronze, which was found in one of the ravines.

The town of Elassóna, containing about 400 families is the capital of a district of 30 villages, many of which are large. The Vóivoda who farms the revenues is an Albanian, and has a large house in the town in the Turkish style. Three mosques and many houses in ruins on the left side of the Elassonítiko show that the Mussulman population was formerly more numerous. The Greeks, who now form three fourths of the inhabitants, were then confined to the right bank. Their church in that quarter contains an inscribed marble, much defaced, but evidently a record of the manumission of slaves, and of the sum which they paid on the occasion [1].

Dec. 9. — From Elassóna in 35 minutes to Τζαρίτζενα, in vulgar pronunciation Tjarítjena, a Greek town of 7 or 800 houses, standing at the

[1] One of these forms begins Ταμιεύοντος τῆς πόλεως τὴν πρώτην ἐξάμηνον Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ .... and ends ἀργυρίου ΔΚΒ. Another which has a similar beginning ends with ἐλευθερωθεὶς ὑπὸ Εὐνοΐδου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Δικαιογένους ἔδωκε τῇ πόλει ΔΚΒ. So that 22 denaria seems to have been the ordinary sum paid by the freedman.

foot of the ranges of hills which border the eastern side of the plain of Elassona, to which kazá it belongs. The name is Sclavonic, and not uncommon in Russia, and other countries of Europe where dialects of the Illyric are spoken. The place is noted for the manufacture of the stuffs of cotton, or of a mixture of silk and cotton, of which there is a great consumption among both Turks and Greeks for men's vests and women's gowns: cotton thread is also dyed here of several colours and sent to Germany. Immediately behind the middle of the town a rocky aperture in the hills gives passage to a small torrent called Xeriá, which rushes through the town into the plain. The rocks are a very white limestone. There are many good houses in the town, but it is not without some marks of decline, which are attributed as usual to the effects of Aly Pasha's government.

The gorges of the Elassonitiko and Xeriá are the natural ascents into the upper regions of *Olympus*, where are several large villages and some cultivated plains situated between the great southern face of

tains, by two rivers flowing from the same *col*, or ridge, in opposite directions. One of these is the Elassonítiko, or *Titaresius*, the other the river of Platamóna; the heads of the respective ravines through which they flow, are separated only by a plain, at the southern foot of the upper heights of *Olympus*, which contains the village of Karyá, one of the largest on the mountain. This plain is about five miles long, in an E. and W. direction, and is the greatest level space upon *Olympus*. Like other similar plains on the mountains of Greece, it supplies only rye and pasture for flocks. On the fir-clad heights above it, to the north, stands the monastery of the Holy Trinity [1], situated near a torrent which flows from thence through a part of the plain of Karyá and then to Platamóna. St. Triádha was for many years a favourite haunt of the robbers of 'Elymbo, until by the magic touch of Alý's sword the villages of the mountain were converted into tjiftlíks of his own, and the robbers into armatolí for their protection.

Southward of the plain of Karyá, and divided from it only by a ridge, is the parallel valley of Ezeró, about half as large as that of Karyá, and so called from a lake which occupies the greater part of it, and which the inhabitants of the village of Ezeró endeavoured to draw off into a neighbouring ravine, but were obliged to desist after having wrought several years at it. The lake of Ezeró is evidently the ancient Ascuris. Eastward of this plain is another, not far distant from the summits

[1] ἁγία Τριάδα.

which inclose the pass of *Tempe* to the northward; it is separated only by a ridge from a cultivated region around the town of Rápsani, or Rápsiani [1], which looks down upon the maritime level at the mouth of the *Peneius*, and southward is opposed to the face of Mount *Ossa* and Ambelákia. On the ridge to the westward of Rápsani are the remains of an ancient fortress, probably *Lapathus*, of which name Rápsani may perhaps be a corruption. In like manner as the plain of Karyá and the gorges of the rivers Elassonítiko and Platamóna form a separation, between the great *Olympus* and its subordinate summits, which extend to the plains of Elassóna and Lárissa, and to *Tempe*, so these latter mountains are subdivided by the plain of Ezeró and that near it to the eastward. The western portion of them was evidently the Mount Titarus adjacent to Olympus noticed by Strabo; the eastern probably bore the same name as the fortress Lapathus which stood upon one of its summits. The distance from Karyá to Ezeró is reckoned two hours, and from the latter to Rápsani three hours. Between Karyá and Elassóna there are two other villages

plain to Karyá, and in the other form the sources of the Xeriá, or river of Tzarítzena. Konispoli appears to correspond to the Eudierum of Livy, which was fifteen miles from the Roman camp, between Azorus and Doliche, in the direction of Ascuris and Lapathus [1]. The sources of the principal branch of the *Titaresius* are in the great flank of *Olympus*, between Skamniá and Selos, and particularly at a great perennial spring situated two or three hours to the north-east of Elassóna: after quitting the gorges of *Olympus* it approaches Elassóna from the north-eastward, turns southward through the town, thence flows westward near the foot of the hills on the northern side of the plain, and quitting it at the western extremity passes between hills into the valley of Dheminíko, where it joins the Sarandáforo, or branch from the mountains of Livádhi, near Amúri.

Dec. 10.—At 3.40, Turkish time, leaving Tzarítzena, we continue to cross the plain of *Oloosson*, not far from the foot of Mount *Titarus*, and at the south-eastern corner ascend a pass called the dervéni of Melúna, where the road traverses a low rocky ridge which connects *Titarus* with the mountain of Túrnavo, and on the descent commands a prospect over the superb plain of *Pelasgiotis* as far as the entrance of *Tempe* and Mount *Ossa*. Beyond the *Peneius*, to the right of *Ossa*, is seen the lake of Karatjaír, the ancient Nessonis.

[1] Liv. l. 44, c. 3.

At 5.10 we arrive at the foot of the heights of Melúna, and enter the plain at the small Turkish village of Karaderé (black valley) called by the Greeks Ligará, then turning to the right and following the foot of the mountain of Túrnavo, cross at 5.35 a small stream just below the máti, or source where it issues from the foot of the mountain, and forms a small lake and marsh in the plain to our left. Here a large Turkish village, named Karadjóli, appears across the plain on the side of Mount *Titarus*, two or three miles on our left. Some conspicuous remains of the Hellenic walls, inclosing the face of the hill, show it to be the position of a city of some importance.

Continuing to wind to the right along the foot of the mountain of Túrnavo, we cross at 6.33 another rivulet flowing from a source on our right, called Krya-vrýsi, pass a large tumulus to the left, and at 6.48 arrive in the town of Túrnavo, or Týrnavo [1], which stands in the plain, but not far from the mountain.

[1] Τούρναβος, Τύρναβος.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THESSALIA.

Túrnavo — Manufactures — Kastrí — Tatári — Lárissa — Paleá Lárissa, *Crannon—Argissa—Atrax—Metropolis*—Karalár—Marmarianí, *Sycurium*—First Campaign of the *Persic War*—*Scea*—*Mopsium*—*Phalanna*—*Elateia*—*Gyrton*—Kiserlí—Makrikhóri—Vale of Derelí—Babá—Ascent of Mount *Ossa*—Ambelakía, its productions, &c.—Lykóstomo, *Gonnus*—Pass of Lykóstomo, *Tempe*—River *Peneius*—Ancient descriptions of *Tempe*—*Gonnocondylus*—*Charax*—Castle of *Tempe*.

Turnavo contains 1500 families; of these only 70 are Mahometan, a number which compared with the six mosques still existing, shows how much the Turkish population has diminished. It is said that there were once 4000 houses, which the great number of those in ruins, or uninhabited, renders credible. The causes to which the depopulation is ascribed, are several successive years of plague, the first Russian war which brought the Albanians into Thessaly in great numbers, and lastly, the acquisition of the place by Alý Pashá, which has driven away the Turks. Túrnavo, like Tzarítzena, is a name of Sclavonic origin, and shows that a colony of that race, perhaps from Túrnavo in Bulgaria, was once settled here, of which no other trace than the name now remains. Another Illyric name is found at the lake and village Ezeró, in

Mount *Titarus*, between Tzarítzena and Rápsani. These are the more remarkable, as there are few if any others in the great eastern *Thessalo-Macedonian* range to the southward of Vodhená. Like Tzarítzena, Túrnavo has been and is still indebted for its importance to the weaving and dyeing of the stuffs made of cotton, or of a mixture of silk and cotton called bukhasiá and aladjá, and to the dyeing of cotton thread, which is chiefly sold to the Ambelakiótes. Long towels in the Turkish and Greek fashion interwoven with gold threads, and shawls for the head and waist, are also made here. There are three dyeing manufactories; but the looms are all in private houses; these are reckoned to produce daily 1200 κομμάτια, or pieces of seven peeks each. There are only 200 working days in the year, so numerous are the Greek holidays. Ninety okes of thread are made every day in the town; the surrounding villages supply one third of that which is used in the looms, and all that which is dyed for exportation. Tzarítzena makes as many stuffs as Túrnavo, but does not dye so much thread. As at Tzarítzena, Siátista,

Porte upon this occasion, and finds the see burthened with a debt of 300 purses, bearing the customary high interest, which he finds the more difficult to pay, as the exportation of grain from Thessaly is forbidden to all but the agents of government, which disables the bishop's flock from contributing to the payment of his demands upon them, or at least supplies an excuse for withholding them. Almost all the Greek bishoprics are burthened in the same manner with debt; but like the public debts of other countries, they form a bond of union between individuals and the authorities, and in this country have the advantage of saving the former from the dangers of hoarding —the only alternative with those who are fearful of the risks of commerce. The necessity of being prepared to pay the interest gives the bishops also something more than a personal plea for enforcing the collection of their dues from the clergy and laity, in which they often find great difficulty. Alý Pashá's bishops are generally assisted by His Highness's buyurtí, supported sometimes, especially in the case of the bishop of Ioánnina, by a palikári or two, to ensure attention to it. It was by Alý's influence at Constantinople that the bishop of Lárissa obtained his promotion, the Pashá finding it useful to the support of his influence in this part of Thessaly to have the chief Christian authority subservient to him, and in the hands of one who has long resided at his court. The largest house at present in Túrnavo was built by Mukhtár Pashá for a young Antinous of this

place, whom Alý has lately, upon complaint of his son's wife, ordered to be put to death, but who has been saved and concealed by Mukhtár.

There are many fragments of antiquity in different parts of the town, some of which it is not easy to obtain a sight of, as they are in private houses: they are all said to have been brought from a height half an hour below Túrnavo called Kastrí. At a well in the town, a large sepulchral stone represents a woman sitting in a chair, with a couch before her on which lies a child stretching out its hands to join those of the mother. The attitudes and drapery indicate a high antiquity. In the churches are a few sepulchral stelæ, with the remains of names on them. The most interesting monument is in the court which surrounds the episcopal church and palace, where a plain quadrangular block of white marble is inscribed on one of the narrow sides with four lines in the Æolic or Thessalian dialect: it is a dedication to Apollo Cerdous by Sosipatrus, son of Polemarchides, who had held the offices of Hieromnemon and Archidaphnephorus [1].

The lands of Túrnavo produce corn, wine, and cotton, but are not extensive, being bounded at a few miles' distance by those of Lárissa to the south, and to the east and north-east by the Koniaro-khória, named Kazaklári, Misalári, Karadjóli. All these places, as well as Tatári and Bákrina, are inhabited entirely by Turks, whose appellation of Koniáridhes indicates that they are remains of the original settlers from Kónia or *Iconium*, who came here before the conquest of Constantinople. They are employed entirely in the cultivation of the soil, the surplus produce of which suffices to supply them with their other wants. They are poor and inoffensive, and their name is a bye-word of contempt among the Albanians, who esteem nothing but the power derived from the sword and the tufék.

Reapers in the plain of Túrnavo receive from 80 to 100 parás a day, but without provision or wine: these high wages are not undeserved, as the heat in harvest is so excessive as often to cause sickness and even death among the labourers. In the vineyards they have generally 50 parás a day, with meat and wine, but no bread. The wine

origin of the Etruscans; for the Larissæan plain was one of the peculiar seats of the Pelasgi, and was named Pelasgiotis to the latest period of antiquity. The epithet Κερδῷος here applied to Apollo, is found in Lycophron, v. 208, where the scholiast says that he was so called as showing things profitable (ἐπικερδῆ) by means of his oracles. The possessive adjective instead of the noun, in the second case, to express the name of the father, appears from many other inscriptions to have been a Thessalian custom.

made here would be good were it not for the haste with which it is drawn off from the fruit before the fermentation is complete. As usual throughout Greece, water is added to it before it is sold in the wine-houses; but there is no mixture here of the resin, which in the poorer liquors of *Epirus*, *Attica*, and the Moréa, serves to check, in some degree, the acetous fermentation. The wine called Πηλινὸς is flavoured with several herbs, and has a taste by no means agreeable. The cotton, like that of Thessaly in general, is reckoned superior to the Macedonian, and second only to that of *Magnesia ad Sipylum*, and to some peculiar kinds of the cotton of Smyrna.

The mountain above the town is known by the name of Kritíri[1]: its summit lies a little to the westward of a line drawn from Elassóna to Túrnavo. The ridge has the appearance of extending to the southward as far as the Klisúra, or opening noticed on my former journey, through which the *Peneius* issues into the *Larissæan* plain, but in fact there is another similar opening but narrower, about an hour to the southward of Túrnavo,

considerable stream; but this is sufficiently accounted for by the ποτίσματα, for irrigating gardens and fields of maize, cotton, and tobacco, which intercept its waters in the plain of Dheminíko and valley of Dhamási, and by a canal which carries water to Lárissa. But notwithstanding these diversions, it is sometimes a respectable river at Túrnavo, as a bridge of fifteen arches at the entrance of the town testifies. Even now the bed, although apparently dry, is said to abound in dangerous quicksands, concealing a considerable quantity of water.

Sometimes the higher classes of Greeks show greater ignorance even than the peasantry. The master of the house in which I lodge, one of the richest men in the place, and who has resided in Germany, asks me for a herb to turn copper into gold, and learns, for the first time in his life, that the stream which flows by Túrnavo is the same as that at Elassóna, and that it has its origin in Mount *Olympus*. There are two routes from Túrnavo to *Tempe;* one leading to Derelí, on the northern side of the *fauces;* the other to Ambelákia, on the southern side. The former of course does not cross the Salamvría, but passes below Karadjóli and along the foot of Mount *Titarus* into the vale of Derelí, which has a communication by a bridge with Babá, a town situated on the right bank of the river below Ambelákia, at the entrance of the only road through the strait. The other road from Túrnavo to Babá crosses the plain to a ferry over the Salamvría, in a district of small Koniaric villages called Bákrina. This ferry is midway to the northern extremity of

the lake Karatjaír, or *Nessonis,* where the road joins that from Lárissa to Babá, and then ascends an opening in a rocky ridge which here bounds the plain of the *Peneius,* and separates it from the vale of Kiserlí at the foot of Mount *Ossa.* The road then follows that valley, without any farther interruption of heights, to Babá.

Dec. 11.—A heavy fall of rain yesterday evening, and a thunder-storm at night, are succeeded by fair weather. In the afternoon I proceed to Lárissa, crossing the bridge, and arriving in twenty-seven minutes at Kastrí. At a small village named Amári, two miles to the right, is a large artificial tumulus, similar to that already remarked in the opposite direction. Kastrí is undoubtedly the site of a Hellenic town, though there now remains nothing but the foundations of a square tower of those times on the summit of the hill, near which are many excavations which have been made for extracting wrought masses of stone, which have been transported to Túrnavo. The hill and surrounding fields are strewed with fragments of ancient pottery. Proceeding from hence

and at its foot a Turkish burying-ground contains among the tomb-stones the fragment of a Doric fluted shaft, five feet three inches in circumference. The height is called Magúla, a common name for an insulated hill in a plain, especially when preserving the vestiges of former buildings; it stands in the midst of a district of small Turkish villages named Tatári.

Leaving the Magúla, which is about half an hour from the left bank of the *Peneius*, at 7.27, we halt at 7.45 at a khan at one of the makhalás of Tatári, near a very extensive Turkish burying-ground, in which, among many ancient sepulchral monuments and fragments of antiquity, I find another dedication to Apollo, under his Thessalian name Aplus, with the addition of the epithet Tempites[1]. Ælian alludes to the worship of Apollo at Tempe in his description of that celebrated valley[2]; and it is easy to conceive that the deity may have been worshipped in some of the neighbouring cities under the same appellation. From the khan the bridge of Lárissa is just one hour distant.

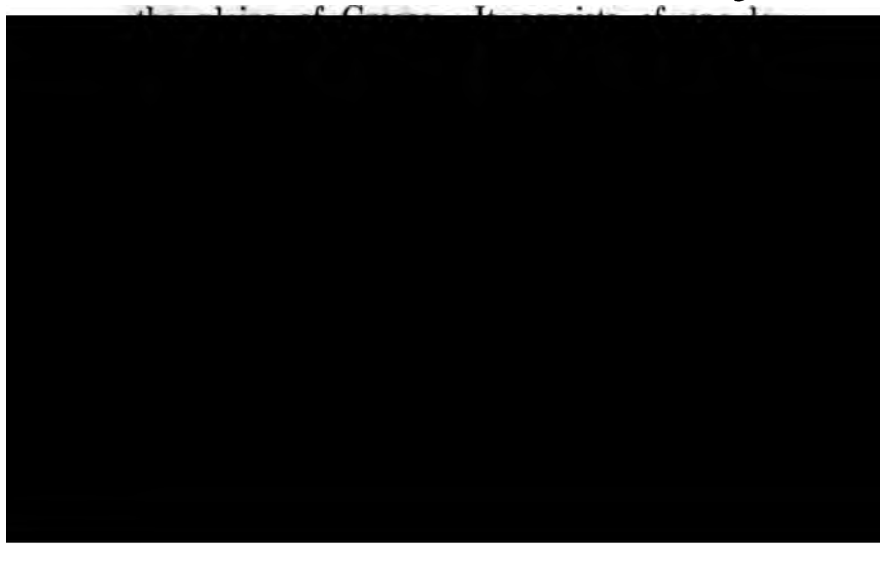
Dec. 13.—The road from Lárissa to the ruins which the Greeks call Paleá Lárissa, and absurdly suppose to be the site of the ancient city, diverges a few degrees to the right of the direct road to Férsala, and at the distance of five or six miles enters upon a low undulated tract which separates the lowest level, or that reaching to the banks of

[1] Ἀπλοῦνι Τεμπείτᾳ, Ἰσχύλις Σατύρου ἐλευθέρια.—V. Inscription, No. 147.

[2] Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 3, c. 1.

the river, from another rather higher. The latter though now little cultivated, is fertile, and was obviously the territory of one of the chief cities of Thessaly. It extends nine or ten miles south-eastward from the foot of the hill of Alífaka, as far as the ridge which separates this plain from the *Pharsalian* valley. At the beginning of the undulated ground, one hour and five minutes from Lárissa, several squared stones, and a piece of a fluted Doric column, occur in a spot where no Turkish burying-ground or remains of habitations appear. It is perhaps the site of a solitary temple. Ten minutes farther is Hassán Tatári, a small village, below which are two or three sori at a fountain, some ancient wells, and several wrought stones.

At the end of two hours and twenty-seven minutes from Lárissa we arrive at Hadjilár, a tjiftlík belonging to Hadjí Halíl Agá of Lárissa, but inhabited only by the Greeks who cultivate his lands. My lodging here is a cottage of the better sort, but of a construction common throughout



tition of baskets, between two of which there is an opening serving for the communication between the upper and lower compartments of the cottage.

Half an hour from Hadjilár, in the direction of Férsala, is the place called Paleá Lárissa, a name which was undoubtedly attached to it when the remains of antiquity were much more considerable than they are at present. It supplies an example of the manner in which the ancient cities of the more fertile parts of Greece have gradually been obliterated, although built by a people with whom durability was the principal object. Besides applying the ordinary materials to reconstruction, the Turks are in the habit of searching for wrought stones of white marble, for the purpose of converting them into tomb-stones, by which means ancient sculptures and inscriptions are often defaced to make way for the rude representation of a Turkish turban, or for some words in Arabic. Even when the ancient letters have escaped erasure, the monument having been removed to a distance from its original position may only mislead the geographical enquirer. In rocky situations, and the poorer parts of the country, the remains have a better chance of preservation than in such fertile plains as these, where large modern towns have succeeded the ancient cities, and where stone being scarce, every village finds it convenient to resort to the ancient sites for materials. At Paleá Lárissa, the sori, or stone coffins of the ancient cemetery, have been particularly in demand, as well in Lárissa as in all the villages around Hadjilár, where they are used as water

troughs. They were in such request, that the people of this village finding that they were sometimes sunk three or four feet deep in the ground, were in the habit of sounding for them with iron rods. But Abdím Bey, chief Ayán of Lárissa, informed me yesterday that he had forbidden the further search, lest the Porte, hearing false accounts of the proceeding, should suppose that treasure had been discovered. Notwithstanding the spoliations to which the ancient remains have been so long exposed, some foundations of the walls of the town, or more probably of the citadel, may be traced along the edge of a quadrangular height called Paleókastro, which is nearly a mile in circumference, and towards the upper part of which are some vestiges of a transverse wall forming a double inclosure. This height, and all the fields around, are covered with pottery, and on the side of the height, or on the rise of the hills behind it, are eight or nine small tumuli. Here the sori were found, and some of them are still left above-ground, not having been carried away after they had been dug out. They are plain coffins, roughly

ward, the road from Lárissa to Maskolúri crosses the heights into the plain of the *Enipeus*.

Dec. 14.—The most interesting of the monuments found at Paleá Lárissa have been removed from thence and deposited by the Greeks, who generally show this respect for the works of their ancestors, at the little village church of Hadjilár. The first to be mentioned is an inscription of forty lines, in small characters of the best times, wanting four or five lines at the commencement, as well as a few letters at the beginning and end of every line, but still preserving enough to prove Paleá Lárissa to be the site of Crannon[1], or as the name is written on the marble Cranon[2]. This inscription is in the Thessalic dialect, among the peculiarities of which is the conversion of the Hellenic Ω into ΟΥ, so that ΤΟΥΝ ΤΑΓΟΥΝ ΓΝΟΥΜΑΣ occurs for ΤΩΝ ΤΑΓΩΝ ΓΝΩΜΑΣ. The name of the people is written ΚΡΑΝΟΥΝΝΙΟΙ; ΟΝΑΛΟΥΜΑ represents ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑ, and resembles the ΟΝΕΘΕΙΚΕ of the inscription of Túrnavo; of this form another instance is found in the words ΨΑΦΙΣΜΑ ΟΝΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΕΝ ΚΙΟΝΑ ΛΙΘΙΝΟΝ, which are repeated. The object of this record is the very common one of

[1] Crannon is placed in the Peutinger table on the road from Larissa to Phalyra in the Maliac gulf, 15 M. P. from the former, and 38 M. P. from the latter, which nearly accords with the situation of Paleá Lárissa relatively to Larissa and the gulf.

[2] On the coins we find ΚΡΑΝ, ΚΡΑΝΝΟ, ΚΡΑΝΝΩΝΙΩΝ. The single or double letter was generally a matter of indifference. ΚΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΙΟΥΝ is also found on some of the coins, and in like manner Γομφιτουν, Φεραιουν, on those of Gomphi and Pheræ.

a vote of citizenship to certain foreign benefactors of the city[1]. A stone in the wall of the church, upon which a Hermes on a pedestal is represented in relief, is inscribed with the words ΕΡΜΑΟ ΧΘΟΝΙΟΥ[2], in very neat characters well preserved. On a handsome pedestal in the churchyard are the words ΝΙΚΑΣΙΠΠΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΥΝΕΙΟΣ[3], where the last word, which in Attica and most other parts of Greece would have been ΝΙΚΩΝΟΣ, exemplifies both the provincial custom of converting Ω into ΟΥ, and that of employing the patronymic adjective instead of the father's name in the second case. On turning up a marble lying in the church, I find that it is sculptured in low relief, without any inscription, and represents a female placing a chaplet on the head of a horse, a large dog standing by. The priest allows me to carry it away on condition of leaving a present for the church. In one of the cottages is a sepulchral stone representing a man with a small dog leaping up to caress him,—the drapery heavy and figure unfinished. While I was copying the inscription in the church a wedding took place, this being

near the right bank of the *Peneius*. The road passes by Taushán, a small village lying at the foot of the hill, and then over the ridge, leaving the summit to the left. We return to Lárissa in the afternoon by the same route by which we came.

Dec. 15.—At 4.24, Turkish, having crossed the bridge of Lárissa, I pursue westward for about a quarter of an hour a kalderím, or causeway along the side of an inundation which is formed by the river in winter, and then crossing the plain with the river at a short distance on the left, arrive, at 5.7, at a spot where some ancient foundations, two or three covers of sori, and several squared blocks are scattered on the ground. In a neighbouring field lies a fragment of a Doric column, of which the chord of the fluting is six inches. An inundation extends from hence to the river, which is half a mile distant. A third of a mile to the right are six tumuli standing nearly in a line, and stretching three quarters of a mile from east to west; the two in the middle are large, particularly one of them, the others are small and low. Behind one of those in the middle there is a seventh. Tumuli being generally indications of sites of high antiquity, these probaby mark the position of the Homeric Argissa; the remains in the road may be those of its successor Argura, which Strabo places exactly in this situation [1].

[1] Ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἄργισσα ἡ νῦν Ἄργουρα ἐπὶ τῷ Πηνειῷ κεῖται. Ὑπέρκειται δ' αὐτῆς Ἄτραξ ἐν τετταράκοντα σταδίοις, τῷ ποταμῷ πλησιάζουσα καὶ αὕτη· τὴν δ' ἀνάμεσον ποταμίαν εἶχον Περῥαιβοί.—Strabo, p. 440.—Stephan in Ἄργουρα.

Eustathius (in Il. B. v. 738) says that in some of the copies

Proceeding from hence at 5.17, we soon arrive on the bank of the river, and following it, pass at 5.47 for 7 minutes over fields covered with stones and pottery, on low eminences which terminate in an earthy cliff overhanging the river's bank. Five minutes beyond the end of this stony ground is another tumbe or tumulus on the right of the road, and as much farther one more.

At 6.45 we arrive at the ferry of Gúnitza, which is a small Greek village on the opposite or right bank of the Salamvría, just where it emerges into the plain from the opening more than once mentioned, which is a rocky gorge about half a mile long. A road ascends the left bank of the river along the pass to Zarko, and another branches from it to Dhamási 1½ hour distant. The fields on the left bank of the river just opposite to Gúnitza, both on the slope of the hill and in the plain, are covered with stones and fragments of ancient pottery, and in one place there are foundations of a Hellenic wall. On the summit also are considerable remains of a wall of loose stones extending from thence to a lower precipice of the hill. The latter is very rocky, and so abrupt, particularly towards the river, as hardly to have required any artificial fortification in that part. Just within the pass a copious source of water issues from the foot of the height. This place, now called Sidhiro-péliko[1], agrees so entirely

of Homer the word was Ἄργεια, and that the place was founded by the sons of Larissa, daughter of Pelasgus.

[1] Σίδηρο-πέλικος means a place where chippings of iron are found.

with that of *Atrax*, which stood on the Peneius, ten miles from Larissa, that I have no doubt of the identity, though little of Hellenic antiquity remains here. The strength of the height is in perfect conformity with the successful resistance of Atrax against the consul Quinctius, in the year B. C. 198[1]. Neither Livy nor Strabo[2], indeed, state on which bank of the Peneius Atrax stood, but as the former remarks that the inhabitants were Perrhæbi, and in another place shows its vicinity to other Perrhæbian towns[3], the left bank is the more probable.

Having crossed the ferry to Gúnitza, I there find in a church a sepulchral marble erected in memory of one Coricus, by his wife Melete, daughter of Sosias[4]. On the outside of the village, a great number of mill-stones are collected, which are made in a neighbouring quarry, and are here in preparation to be embarked on the river. Just below the village the river is partly diverted as a canal for mills and irrigation. The ferry is the ordinary communication from Túrnavo, the *Larissæan* plain, and Elassóna, towards Hadjilár and Férsala.

After having recrossed the river, and dined at the fountain on the bank, the weather clear and warm as in an English May, we proceed to Túrnavo, setting out at 8.30, and riding along the foot of the rocky heights with the plain on the

[1] Liv. l. 32, c. 15. 17.
[2] Strabo, p. 438.
[3] Liv. l. 36, c. 13.
[4] V. Inscription, No. 152.

right, until at 9.12 we cross a small canal derived from the Elassonítiko, or *Titaresius*, and which is carried from hence directly across the plain to Lárissa. I have before observed, that this canal and the irrigations at Dhamási, and in the plain of Amúri, deprive the river of so much water, that at Túrnavo the sandy bed absorbs all the rest. The opening in the ridge of Kritíri, through which the river issues, is similar to that of Gúnitza,—steep rocky heights on either side leaving space only for the river. The pass is about 2 miles in length, and begins to widen a little below Dhamási; beyond which village it forms an extensive plain. At 9.22 the large tumulus near Amári is upon a rising ground near the right of the road; and at 9.45, after having crossed the bed of the Elassonítiko, I again enter Túrnavo. The *Larissæan* plain to the north of the *Peneius* is reckoned not so fertile as that to the south, although this year it produced 20 to 1, and from 15 to 18 is not an uncommon return. The corn of Dhamási is not so productive, but is reckoned better than that of the *Larissæan* plain.

nasiarch[1]. The inference to be drawn from this inscription is that Kastrí is the position of Metropolis, since it is not very likely that the gymnasiarch should have been an alien. That there was a city named Metropolis in this part of the country different from that of Upper Thessaly which was near Ithome and Tricca[2], there are proofs in Livy and Stephanus[3]. From the historian we learn that Antiochus, in the year 191 B.C. having sailed from Chalcis, and landed at Demetrias, first took Pheræ, then Crannon, then Cypæra, Metropolis, and all the neighbouring fortresses, except Atrax and Gyrton, after which he encamped before Larissa, with the intention of besieging that place. But a portion of the Roman army under Appius Claudius, who had been detached by Bæbius from Dassaretia, having arrived at Gonnus, and Antiochus, who saw their fires, having mistaken them for an indication of the arrival of the whole allied force of Philip and the Romans, he was so much alarmed that, taking into consideration also the advanced season, he returned to Demetrias, after having remained before Larissa only one day, during which he was rejoined by his allies of Athamania and Ætolia, who had previously quitted his army on hostile expeditions, of which the Tripolitis of Perrhæbia and Pelinnæum were the most distant points. It is evident that these operations were,

[1] Οἱ νεανίσκοι Πετραῖον Φιλοξενίδου Μητροπολίτην γυμνασιαρχήσαντα. — V. Inscription, No. 153.

[2] Strabo, p. 437.

[3] Liv. l. 36, c. 10.—Μητρόπολις . . . . τετάρτη Θεσσαλίας . . . . . δεκάτη, τῆς ἄνω Θεσσαλίας.—Stephan. in voce.

except in the single instance of the excursion to Pelinnæum, confined to the Pelasgiotis and Perrhæbia; consequently, that the Metropolis there mentioned was in the same part of Thessaly, and distinct from that of Upper Thessaly, which was not far from Gomphi and Æginium, and was taken by Flamininus on his descent into that part of Thessaly after the battle of the Aous[1]. And thus we have an explanation of the distinction which Stephanus has made between the Metropolis of Thessaly and that of Upper Thessaly.

Dec. 16.—The plain having been dried, and the paths improved by the late fine weather, I return to Lárissa this afternoon by the circuitous route of Amári, and from thence directly to the city, for the most part along the canal derived from the *Titaresius*. The circuit is not so great as by Tatári, but one sixth longer than by the direct paved road, which is about ten miles.

Dec. 17.—At 8.30, Turkish time, leaving Lárissa with horses of the post, and taking the road to Aghiá, I observe, as we clear the town, at least sixteen tumuli in the adjacent part of the plain. After a halt of 10 minutes at a tjiftlík belonging to Velý Pashá, we continue our direction towards a rocky point conspicuous from Lárissa. This point is the southern extremity of the rocky ridge extending from thence 10 or 12 miles in a northerly direction to the Salamvría, which separates that end of it from Kondo-vúni, as the eastern part of the range of *Titarus* is called. Approaching the

[1] Liv. l. 32, c. 15.

rocky point, we cross the Asmák, or profundity, a deep watercourse which carries the superfluous waters of the lake Karatjaír, or *Nessonis*, to the lake of Karla. In seasons of rain the Asmák is impassable, but now it has only water standing in pools, in which small fish are caught. Soon after having passed it, we are abreast of the rocky point, and at 11.15 arrive at a tjiftlík of Abdím Bey, called Karalár, having left the Turkish village of Marmarianí on the slope of the range of *Ossa*, 2 miles on our left. Not having provided myself with a letter from Abdím, I find some difficulty in obtaining a lodging here, but at length find refuge in a small cottage, sending our horses to the khan. Two miles and a half beyond Karalár is Gkiúksan, another tjiftlík on the foot of some low ridges which branch from *Ossa* towards *Pelium*. About an hour to the south of Gkiúksan is the village of Kastrí, at the foot of a hill which stands advanced in front of the heights of *Pelium*, and is inclosed by the walls of a fortress, which has an appearance of Roman or lower Greek times, but may possibly be Hellenic; for it is evident that the people of Thessaly were not always in the habit of employing the massive masonry of the southern parts of Greece, notwithstanding that they occupied the original seats of the Pelasgi, who seem to have taught the Greeks that mode of building. But in many parts of the extensive plains of Thessaly, quarries from which large homogeneous masses might be extracted, such as are found in the walls of the cities of southern Greece and the Peloponnesus, were so

distant, that the labour and expence of fortifying in that manner would have been enormous.

An hour and a half beyond Gkiúksan is *Aiá*, properly Aghiá[1], called Ghiáur Yenidjé by the Turks, standing on some heights near the foot of the steepest part of Mount *Ossa*, exactly in the opening between *Ossa* and *Pelium*, and not more than 2 hours from the sea. From Aiá to Volo the distance is 10 hours, leaving the lake of Karla on the left, about half way; in the opposite direction the road from Aiá to Ambelákia crosses the maritime face of Mount *Ossa*, where are several small villages among the woods, and a path practicable only by mules.

Dec. 18.—We leave Karalár at 3.40, Turkish, but lose twenty minutes by taking the wrong road and wandering in a wood which stretches from Marmarianí into the plain. A little below that village are some fragments of white marble, and many stones in the fields. A stream of water which flows through the wood originates in a source in the mountain above Marmarianí called Yedi Kápelar, (the seven gates,) where a tank has

Sycurium was situated at a distance of about ten miles from Larissa, at the foot of Mount Ossa, on the southern side, looking upon the Thessalian plains in that direction, and backed by Macedonia and Magnesia, abounding in fountains of perennial water, and commodiously placed for collecting corn from the neighbouring territories of Crannon and Pheræ [1].

The consul, P. Licinius Crassus, commander of the Roman army opposed to Perseus, who had marched through Epirus and Athamania to Gomphi in Upper Thessaly, considered himself fortunate in finding that part of the country free from the enemy, as his army had suffered severely in crossing the mountains. After a few days' repose, he continued his route towards Larissa, which was in possession of the Romans, and pitched his camp at Tripolis Scea, a village on the right bank of the Peneius, three miles above that city [2]. Here he was joined by the brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, of Pergamus, with a considerable reinforcement of infantry and a small body of Greek cavalry, chiefly Thessalian. Perseus, being superior in cavalry, endeavoured to draw the consul out of his position by laying waste the Pheræa ; but not succeeding in this design, he marched from Sycurium to the dis-

[1] Liv. l. 42, c. 54, et seq.

[2] The vulgar reading is—. . . . . ad Larissam ducit. Inde, quum tria millia ferme abesset a Tripoli (Sceam vocant) super Peneium amnem posuit castra (c. 55), which implies that Scea was three miles from a place called Tripolis. But we know of no such town in this part of the country; and as it is clear that the Roman camp was not far from Larissa, the true reading is perhaps "ad Tripolin."

tance of a mile from the Roman camp, where he arrived at the fourth hour of the day. A partial combat ensued midway between the two camps, chiefly of cavalry and light infantry, in which Cassignatus, chief of the Gauls, was slain. Perseus then returned to Sycurium. On the following day he made a similar attempt, and as the troops had before suffered from a want of water in a march of twelve miles over a plain where little water was to be found, they now carried a supply with them in waggons. But the Romans still remained within their camp, and were equally cautious during several successive days on which Perseus repeated the experiment. The king then moved his army to a distance of five miles from the enemy, entrenched his position, and on the following day, drawing out his infantry at the same place as before, advanced at sunrise with all his light-armed and cavalry to the Roman camp. As he made his appearance at a much earlier hour than on the former occasions, the Romans were taken by surprise; the consul, however, having drawn up his infantry behind the rampart of his camp,

having crossed the river in the night, thus gave a proof of conscious weakness, such as was likely to have led to a complete overthrow. The king now removed to Mopsium, and the Romans, without quitting the bank of the river, retired to a safer situation, where they received a reinforcement of 2000 Numidian cavalry, with infantry in equal numbers, and twenty-two elephants. This position was probably not far from Atrax.

Mopsium, although described only by the historian as a hill midway between Larissa and Tempe[1], was a Thessalian city of some importance, as we learn from other authorities, and from its coins, and it was of high antiquity, as the name was said to have been derived from Mopsus, a Lapitha, who accompanied the Argonauts. Its ruined walls are still conspicuous, exactly in the situation mentioned by Livy; that is to say, midway between Lárissa and *Tempe*, near the northern end of the lake Karatjaír or *Nessonis*, just where the road from the one to the other crosses the ridge which I have already described as extending from a rocky point near Karalár to the Salamvría, not far from the western extremity of *Tempe*. Mount *Mopsium* separates the great *Larissæan* plain from the vale of Kiserlí at the foot of Mount *Ossa*.

[1] Ad Mopsium posuit castra (Perseus sc.) tumulus hic inter Tempe et Larissam medius est.—Liv. l. 41, c. 61, 67.

[2] Strabo, p. 441.—Stephan. in Μόψιον. He adds, that the Ethnic was Μόψιος, but the coins are inscribed Μοψείων, the dialectic form of Μοψέων, from Μοψεὺς, like Κιερειείων for Κιεριέων from Κιερεύς.

From Mopsium, after making proposals of peace, which had no effect in consequence of the unreasonable demands of the consul, Perseus returned to Sycurium, and while in that position made an unsuccessful attempt to set fire to the corn which the Romans had been reaping, and had collected in heaps before their tents; soon after which, the consul, who had exhausted the country around him, removed into the Crannonia for the sake of further supplies. The two camps were now separated by a plain not less deficient in water, and much wider than when the contending forces were respectively at Sycurium and Scea. The king, therefore, in advancing against the enemy, began his march from Sycurium at noon, halted in the evening at some distance short of the Romans, and the next morning surprised them by occupying all the hills around their camp with the Macedonian cavalry. As they still declined an engagement, Perseus sent orders for his infantry to return to Sycurium, and soon afterwards retired with his horse, followed for a short distance by the Roman cavalry, but who did not venture upon

though surrounded by the Macedonians, resisted until the consul arrived to their relief. Upon hearing of his approach, Perseus sent to the camp at Mopsium for the phalanx, but in the meantime, having engaged with the Romans and sustained considerable loss, he was obliged to retreat before the succour could arrive. The advancing phalanx met the prisoners and waggons taken from the Romans in a narrow pass, which so impeded their progress that they killed the prisoners, and threw the waggons over a precipice; soon after which they met Perseus and his forces retiring in confusion. Fortunately for him, the consul was as negligent in following up his advantage as the king himself had been at the battle of Scea. A few days afterwards, Perseus, leaving a strong garrison in Gonnus, and a smaller body at Phila, for the purpose of gaining over the Magnetes and other neighbouring people, retired into Macedonia. Licinius then moved to Gonnus, but finding it impregnable, turned towards Mallæa, which he took and destroyed; then, reducing the Tripolitis and other parts of Perrhæbia, he went into winter-quarters at Larissa, distributing his army among the cities of Thessaly.

If we admit *Crannon* to have been at Paleá Lárissa, *Sycurium* at Marmarianí, and *Mopsium* at the ancient remains midway between *Larissa* and *Tempe*, nothing can be clearer, on an inspection of the real scene of action, than the preceding narrative of the first campaign of the *Persic* war. We may farther infer from it, that the remains at Karadjóli are those of *Phalanna;* for it is evident that when Perseus placed himself the second time

at *Mopsium*, the position of the Romans was on the opposite side of the great *Larissæan* plain, and consequently that *Phalanna* was either the ancient city which stood at Kastrí, or that at Karadjóli; Tatári, the third ancient site in this plain, being too near to *Mopsium*, and having only a plain traversed by a river between it and the site of *Mopsium*, whereas the narrative requires hills and a pass. If Kastrí be taken for the site of *Metropolis*, it will follow that *Phalanna* was at Karadjóli; a position according much better than that of Kastrí with the Homeric name Orthe, which, in the opinion of some critics, reported by Strabo, was the same as the citadel of Phalanna[1]; for *Orthe* is exactly descriptive of such a steep rocky hill as that of Karadjóli, and was a name scarcely applicable to situations in the plain such as those of Kastrí and Tatári. This position of *Phalanna* accords moreover with its having been considered a *Perrhæbian* town, as well as *Gonnus*[2], which was similarly situated as to the *Pelasgic* plain.

From Marmarianí we cross a small rocky ridge into the plain of Kiserlí, which lies between Mount

Little Kiserlí, Utmandá, a large Turkish village, called by the Greeks Makrikhóri, is two miles on our left, on the side of the ridge of *Mopsium*. At 6.48 we halt at a fountain, where the road begins to ascend Mount *Ossa* towards Ambelákia. On the opposite side of the river a beautiful semicircular plain presents itself, extending to the foot of Mount *Olympus*, and containing the Turkish town of Derelí, situated a mile and a half from the river, and occupying a large space of ground among vineyards and gardens, which are separated from the river by a wood of pirnária. The river enters this valley from the great *Larissæan* plain through a pass formed by the northern end of the height of Makrikhóri, or northern extremity of Mount *Mopsium*, opposed to Kondovúni, or the extremity of Mount *Titarus*. In the Klisúra, or pass, the river is crossed by a bridge named that of Vernési, above which, on the height of Makrikhóri, are some remains of the walls of an ancient city. In a few words, Livy shows this to have been the site of *Elateia*, and *Gonnus* to have occupied the vale of Derelí[1].

It was between Kondovúni and Karadjóli, at the foot of Mount *Titarus*, that I conceive the last action of the first campaign of the Persic war to have occurred, when Perseus, after having captured a large body of the enemy who were engaged in collecting the corn of the Phalannæan plain, surrounded L. Pompeius and 800 Romans, upon a height which seems to have been one of

[1] . . . . Elatiam et Gonnum. Utraque oppida in faucibus sunt, quæ Tempe adeunt: magis Gonnus.—Liv. l. 42, c. 54.

the last falls of Mount Titarus. The pass in which Perseus in his retreat was met by his advancing phalanx, was probably near the bridge of Vernési; for although Livy has not mentioned the river in his description of this affair, the previous positions and movements of the two contending armies show that it must have flowed between the two camps, and must therefore have been crossed and recrossed by Perseus in the operations of that day. The pass of Vernési, or of *Elateia*, is precisely suited to the circumstances related by the historian, especially if we suppose a bridge to have existed in the same situation as at present, which would in some measure account also for Livy's silence as to the crossing of the river.

If the edges of the great plain to the northward of Lárissa were occupied, as I have supposed, by Atrax, Metropolis, Phalanna, Elateia, and Mopsium,—Gyrton is the only place to which the remains at Tatári can be attributed, supposing *Gyrton* to have stood in this plain, on which point it must be confessed there is conflicting testimony. Strabo, by twice connecting Gyrton with the mouth of the Peneius [1], seems to show that it was below the pass of Tempe; and on that supposition, the epitomizer of his seventh book, by adding that it was near the Peneius and the foot of Mount Olympus [2], will require it to be placed on the left bank of the river. But the Peneius below Tempe having been the boundary of Magnesia and Macedonia, such a situation is very improbable,

[1] Strabo, pp. 439, 441. [2] Strabo (Epit. l. 7) p. 329.

as Gyrton was a Thessalian town. Nor could it be reconciled with Livy, whose circumstantial testimony, derived from Polybius, is far preferable to the vague indications of the geographer, and who seems evidently to require Gyrton to have been in the vicinity of Phalanna, Atrax, and Larissa, or in some part of the same plains in which those cities stood. When Perseus descended into them from Tripolitis, or the northern division of Perrhæbia, before his first occupation of the position of Sycurium, he encamped, after having taken Cyretiæ and Mylæ, in the southern part of Perrhæbia, at Phalanna, and the next day moved to Gyrton, from whence, on finding the place defended by a strong garrison of Romans and Thessalians, he turned away to Elateia and Gonnus. Such a march is quite incomprehensible, on the supposition that Gyrton was below Tempe. Tatári, therefore, I take to have been the site of *Gyrton*. Its distance from Larissa seems to accord with the proximity of Gyrton to that city, as deducible from a fact mentioned by Soranus, the biographer of Hippocrates of Cos; namely, that the sepulchre of that celebrated physician stood on the road which leads from Gyrton to Larissa: such a central situation in this fertile plain was well adapted to the importance and opulence which the tenor of history and other evidence attaches to Gyrton [1].

[1] See the coins of Gyrton, and its mention by Livy, Polybius, Strabo and Pliny. Apollonius applies to it the epithet opulent.

Ἦλυθε δ' ἀφνειὴν προλιπὼν Γυρτῶνα Κόρωνος
Καινείδης. Argon. l. 1, v. 57.

From the pass of Vernési, or *Elateia*, the *Peneius* winds majestically along the vale of Derelí to Babá, where begin the straits of *Tempe*, or Babá Bóghazi, as the defile is called by the Turks.

On the foot of Kondovúni, half way between the bridge of Vernési and Derelí, stands the small Turkish village of Rughín; and two miles from Derelí, in the opposite direction towards *Tempe*, another larger named Balamút; the latter is a little removed from the river, and nearly opposite to Babá. Half way between Derelí and Balamút, on some rocky heights at the foot of a point of Mount *Olympus*, about a mile from the river, are some remains of a Hellenic city, mixed with other ruins of a later date. The place is called Lykóstomo, or *the Wolf's Mouth*, a name still applied by the Greeks to the pass of *Tempe*, but which occurs as that of a town in the Byzantine history as early as the eleventh century, together with several other names still existing in Macedonia and Thessaly, as Salambrias, Domenicus, Triccala, Serbia, Ostrobus, Achris[1]. Lykóstomo, or Lykostómio, has continued from those ages to the present to give title to a bishop of the ecclesiastical province of Thessalonica, whose ordinary residence is Ambelákia.

From our meridian halt at the fountain we ascend to Ambelákia in one hour and eighteen minutes, by a winding path, along the woody flanks of Mount Kíssavo, looking down to the left on the village and bridge of Babá. Ambelákia, a

[1] Anna Comnena, l. 5.

Greek town of about six hundred families, is situated in a hollow included between two counterforts of the mountain, which, descending steeply to the river, form together with the still more abrupt sides of *Olympus*, the southern or western entrance of the pass of Lykóstomo, or *Tempe*. The entire hollow around Ambelákia is covered with vineyards (whence the name), intermixed with the oak, olive, fig, and cypress. The overhanging mountain is covered with oaks, and completes the beauty of one of the most delightful summer retreats in Greece. To the westward is seen the *Peneius*, winding through the valleys of Utmandá and Derelí, until a little beyond Babá, and immediately below Ambelákia, it enters the precipitous straits. To the northward the snowy summits of *Olympus* present themselves, towering above the woody slopes and rocks which surround the vale of Derelí or overhang the strait of *Tempe;* and though not less than twenty miles distant, appear by the effects of their magnitude, of the clearness of the atmosphere, and of the small difference of the angle under which all the summits are seen, to be very little farther from Ambelákia than the rocks on the opposite side of the river. No view can present a closer and more complete contrast of the sublime and terrific with the tranquil and beautiful; the former represented by the precipices of *Ossa* and *Olympus*, the latter by the winding river and the villages of the valley reposing amidst gardens, meadows, corn-fields, scattered trees, and detached groves of oak and ilex.

Among the nearer heights of *Olympus*, which

rise above the eastern extremity of *Tempe*, is seen Rápsani, or Rápsiani, a town containing a greater number of houses than Ambelákia, but by no means so opulent.

The inhabitants of Rápsani are chiefly employed in the manufacture of aladjás, or mixed stuffs of silk and cotton; those of Ambelákia in dyeing red cotton thread, which is sent overland to Germany and Hungary. The principal Ambelakiótes have resided many years in Christendom, speak German, and though rather too mercantile in their ideas, are agreeable in manners and comparatively enlightened. They maintain a Hellenic school, which seems to make good progress, under the superintendence and encouragement of the resident bishop. But notwithstanding these marks of superior civilization, there is no place where the Greek ἀχόνια is more prevalent than at Ambelákia. Party spirit, or envy and jealousy, have divided individuals, families, and relationships; and although small disputes are generally terminated by the archons, the Ambelakiótes have often the folly to carry their complaints to Alí Pashá, who duly

is partly spun by the women and children of the place itself. It is all formed by the spindle. The rizári or madder[1], more vulgarly ἀλιζάρι, which forms the chief ingredient of the dye, is imported from Smyrna, and crushed here in mills turned by horses. The process, as well as I can comprehend, or the Ambelakiótes are willing to explain it, consists of three parts; first the washing, in which oil is used; secondly, the impregnation with animal matter, in which the blood of oxen seems to be the chief ingredient; and thirdly, the application of the dye. The value of the thread, which costs three or four piastres an oke, is more than doubled by the process. Nevertheless, the ultimate gain is by no means excessive, the freight to Belgrade being not less than 60 piastres the horse load, and two years being often required to give a profitable return on the first outlay. Another inconvenience is the increasing expence of the manufacture in consequence of the scarcity of madder, which grows wild on the mountains of Asia Minor, and for which the cultivated root cannot be substituted without injury to the dye. From 150 to 200 thousand okes of thread are sent to Germany every year, where it is chiefly employed in stuffs, of which a large portion is sent to Spain for its American colonies. Some thread is dyed blue at Ambelákia for the use of the Thessalian looms. Not many years ago, the manufacturers of Ambelákia, or in other words the whole town, formed a single company, in which,

[1] ῥιζάρι (the *root* κατ' ἐξοχήν.)

as in the ships of the *Ægæan*, and many Greek commercial enterprizes, every labourer had a share. The members residing abroad secured to the company all the profits of brokerage and agency. Nothing could be more economical and profitable than such a management. They are now divided into five or six companies, conducted upon the same principles, but by no means with an equal degree of advantage. They were all in great danger last year in consequence of the numerous failures at Vienna; they now cannot receive their remittances here on account of the low value of the florin, and they apprehend ruin if the paper of Vienna should be discredited. Ivo, the chief merchant, has the reputation of being worth a million piastres, which, though not more than 60,000*l.* sterling, is a large sum in this impoverished empire [1].

One of the ancient cities of *Ossa* was celebrated, as Ambelákia is in the present day, for its red dye, but according to Lucretius it was procured from a shell-fish [2].

At Lykóstomo fragments of sculpture broken

the name Hippocrates was not long since brought to light there, and a small Hercules in bronze, which I have purchased from the Ambelakiote into whose hands it had fallen. These remains seem to leave no doubt that the Byzantine Lycostomium[1] was built on the site of the Hellenic Gonnus; for as this city appears from the testimony of Herodotus to have been on the northern side of the Peneius[2], there cannot remain a doubt, on considering the several passages of Livy in which its mention occurs, that it was situated in the valley of Derelí[3].

Eight or nine years ago the Turkish villages of the valley of Derelí joined some other allies in a predatory expedition against Ambelákia, and attacked the place with 3,000 men. The Greeks advanced to the height westward of the town, where now stands a ruined windmill, but were obliged to retreat before superior numbers. The assailants burnt some of the outer houses of the town, but could not penetrate into it. The war

[1] Λυκοστόμιον πολίχνιον.—Cantacuz. l. 2, c. 28; l. 4, c. 19.

[2] Herodot. l. 7, c. 128. 173.

[3] Rex (Philippus *sc.*) effuso cursu Tempe petit. Ibi ad Gonnos diem unum substitit.—Liv. l. 33, c. 10.

Oppidum Gonni viginti millia ab Larissa abest in ipsis faucibus saltus quæ Tempe appellantur situm.—Liv. l. 36, c. 10.

. . . . Elatiam et Gonnum. Utraque oppida in faucibus sunt quæ Tempe adeunt; magis Gonnus.—Liv. l. 42, c. 54.

Ad Gonnum . . . ante ipsa Tempe in faucibus situm Macedoniæ, claustra tutissima præbet, et in Thessaliam opportunum Macedonibus decursum. c. 67.

Hic locus (Tempe *sc.*) . . . . per quatuor distantia loca præsidiis regiis fuit insessus: unum in primo aditu ad Gonnum erat.—Liv. l. 44, c. 6.

continued for some days, when the Beys of Lárissa interfered and put an end to it.

Dec. 19.—This morning the atmosphere is so diaphanous that I am able to distinguish the castle of Saloníki, and to connect it by the sextant with several important points; though its direct distance is not much less than 60 geographical miles. But while distant objects are so clear, the whole of *Tempe* is covered with mist. A messenger from Vienna brings the news of the battle of Jena, intelligence which seems not more agreeable to the Ambelakiótes than it is to myself. They have for many years been in the habit of maintaining a regular post, which was due every 15 days, but the messenger being a footman as far as Semlín, and the war and troubles in Servia having thrown many impediments in the way, he now arrives very irregularly.

Dec. 20.—From Ambelákia to Litókhoro. The snows of *Olympus* had just received a golden tinge from the rays of the rising sun, when we began our descent into the strait, or narrowest part of the vale of *Tempe*. The direct distance is not more

upon the rocks, where the space between the foot of the precipices of *Ossa* and the river is sufficient only for the road, which is about 20 feet above the water. Here a current of cold air issuing from a small cavern, gives to the place the name of ἀνεμόπετρα. The wind proceeds, probably, from the channel of one of the subterraneous streams of water, of which there are many in the pass, rushing from the rocks into the Salamvría. The river flows with a steady and tranquil current, except where its course is interrupted by islands, or where dams have been constructed for intercepting fish.

After having passed some marks of chariot-wheels in the rock, we arrive at 3.55 at a spot where the bank is supported by the remains of a Hellenic wall, and at 4.8 at the ruins of a castle built of small stones and mortar, standing on one side of an immense fissure in the precipices of *Ossa*, which afford an extremely rocky, though not impracticable descent from the heights into the vale. Between the castle and the river there was space only for the road, nor is the level any wider between the opposite bank and the precipices of *Olympus*, where several caverns are seen, some of which retain traces of painting. They were once probably ascetic retreats; for one of them near the river side is still a church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity. It may formerly, perhaps, have been sacred to Pan and the Nymphs. As to the altar, or temple of Apollo Tempites, which once existed in Tempe, some of the circumstances attending his worship seem to require a more open situation than these narrowest parts of the strait, and Babá appears the most probable

situation for it. The ceremonies performed there were commemorative of the purification of Apollo by order of Jupiter, after which he was said to have proceeded to Delphi, bearing in his hand a branch of bay gathered in the valley. Hence the victors in the Pythia were crowned with bay from Tempe, and the Delphi every nine years sent hither a Theoria, which, having approached the altar of Apollo in procession, sacrificed to the deity, sang hymns, and cut branches of bay. On other occasions, the inhabitants of the surrounding parts of Thessaly were in the habit of assembling in Tempe for sacrifices, symposia, and parties of pleasure, and sometimes, according to Ælian, so numerous were the offerings, that the whole air was perfumed with the incense [1].

At 4.18 we leave the castle, and at 4.30 begin to ascend a root of *Ossa*, of which the slope is more gradual than before, but which terminating at the river's bank in a precipice, made it necessary that the road should pass over the hill. The traces of the ancient road, cut in the rock, and wide enough for carriages, still remain. In the begin-

ridge to the river side, and at 4.53 arrive at the end of the *wolf's mouth*, where a fine source of water, larger than any in the pass, rushes from the foot of the rocks into the river.

The walk of one hour and eight minutes from the foot of the mountain of Ambelákia to the eastern extremity of the pass, with a horse whose pace I have measured, will give a distance of about four miles and a half for the length of the road through *Tempe*. In this space the opening between *Ossa* and *Olympus* is in some points less than 100 yards, comprehending in fact no more than the breadth of a road, in addition to that of the river, which is here much compressed within its ordinary breadth in the plains, and not more than 50 yards across. On the northern bank there are places where it seems impossible that a road could ever have existed, so that the communication was probably maintained anciently as it is now, by means of two bridges, or by ferries. It is evident, at least, from the marks of wheels, and the Latin inscription, that the via militaris, or main route, was in the present track.

In some parts of the pass there is sufficient space for little grassy levels, and even in the narrowest places the river's bank is overshaded by large plane trees throwing out their roots into the stream. In the meadows where the ground admits it, are copses of evergreens, in which Apollo's own Daphne[1] is mixed with the wild olive, the

[1] *Laurus nobilis*, still called Δάφνη.

arbutus, the agnus castus, the paliurus, and the lentisk, festooned in many places with wild grapes and other climbers. The limestone cliffs rise with equal abruptness on either side, but their white and bare sides are beautifully relieved by patches of dwarf oaks, velanidhiés, and a variety of the common shrubs of Greece [1], while occasional openings afford a glimpse of some of the nearer heights of the two mountains, clothed with large oaks and firs; in other places, where both sides of the ravine are equally precipitous, a small portion of the zenith only is visible.

Of the ancient descriptions of Tempe by Livy, Pliny, and Ælian [2], that of Livy alone seems to

[1] Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. l. 4, c. 6) notices the poplar, plane, and ash, as growing in these mountains; the different species of oak are now more common than any of them. But the manufactories of Ambelákia have thinned the woods of *Ossa*.

[2] Sunt enim Tempe saltus ... dextera lævaque leniter con-

neus, ortus juxta Gomphos, interque Ossam et Olympum nemorosa convalle defluens quingentis stadiis, dimidio ejus spatii navigabilis. In eo cursu Tempe vocantur quinque millia passuum longitudine et ferme sesquijugeri latitudine, ultra visum hominis attollentibus se

have been written by an eye witness, who was not Livy himself, but Polybius. It is remarkable that Strabo reverses the true interpretation of Homer's comparison of the Peneius and Titaresius[1]; and

Ἔστι δὴ χῶρος μεταξὺ κείμενος τοῦ τε Ὀλύμπου καὶ τῆς Ὄσσης· ὄρη δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπερύψηλα καὶ οἷον ὑπό τινος θείας φροντίδος διεσχισμένα· καὶ μέσον δέχεται χωρίον, οὗ τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα διήκει σταδίους, τόγε μὲν πλάτος, τῇ μέν ἐστι πλέθρου, τῇ δὲ καὶ πλεῖον ὀλίγῳ. Διαῤῥεῖ δὲ μέσου αὐτοῦ ὁ καλούμενος ὁ Πηνειός· εἰς τοῦτον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ποταμοὶ συῤῥέουσι καὶ ἀνακαινοῦνται τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐργάζονται τὸν Πηνειὸν ἐκεῖνοι μέγαν. Διατριβὰς δ' ἔχει ποικίλας καὶ παντοδαπὰς ὁ τόπος οὗτος, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης χειρὸς ἔργα, ἀλλὰ φύσεως αὐτόματα, ὅτε ἐλάμβανε γένεσιν ὁ χῶρος. Κιττὸς μὲν γὰρ πολὺς καὶ εὖ μάλα λάσιος ἐνακμάζει καὶ τέθηλε καὶ δίκην τῶν εὐγενῶν ἀμπέλων κατὰ τῶν ὑψηλῶν δένδρων ἀνέρπει καὶ συμπέφυκεν αὐτοῖς· πολλὴ δὲ μίλαξ, ἣ μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν πάγον ἀνατρέχει καὶ ἐπισκιάζει τὴν πέτραν· καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν ὑπολανθάνει· ὁρᾶται δὲ τὸ χλοάζον πᾶν καί ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν πανήγυρις. Ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς λείοις καὶ καθημένοις ἄλση τέ ἐστι ποικίλα καὶ ὑποδραμαὶ συνεχεῖς, ἐν ὥρᾳ θέρους καταφυγεῖν ὁδοιπόροις ἥδιστα καταγώγια ἃ καὶ δίδωσιν ἀσμένως ψυχᾶσθαι. Διαῤῥέουσι δὲ καὶ κρῆναι συχναὶ καὶ ἐπιῤῥεῖ νάματα ὑδάτων ψυχρῶν καὶ πιεῖν ἡδίστων. Λέγεται δὲ τὰ ὕδατα ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς λουσαμένοις ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ εἰς ὑγίειαν αὐτοῖς συμβάλλεσθαι. Κατᾴδουσι δὲ καὶ ὄρνιθες ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διεσπαρμένοι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ μουσικοὶ, καὶ ἐστιῶσιν εὖ μάλα τὰς ἀκοὰς καὶ παραπέμπουσιν ἀπόνως καὶ σὺν ἡδονῇ διὰ τοῦ μέλους τὸν κάματον τῶν παριόντων ἀφανίσαντες. Παρ' ἑκάτερα δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἱ διατριβαί εἰσιν αἱ προειρημέναι καὶ αἱ ἀνάπαυλαι· διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν Τεμπῶν ὁ Πηνειὸς ποταμὸς ἔρχεται σχολῇ καὶ πρᾴως προϊὼν ἐλαίου δίκην. Πολλὴ δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἡ σκιὰ ἐκ τῶν παραπεφυκότων δένδρων καὶ τῶν ἐξηρτημένων κλάδων τίκτεται ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας αὐτὴν προήκουσαν ἀποστέγειν τὴν ἀκτῖνα καὶ παρέχειν τοῖς πλέουσι πλεῖν κατὰ ψύχος.—Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 3, c. 1.

[1] Τὸ μὲν οὖν Πηνειοῦ καθαρόν ἐστιν ὕδωρ, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Τιταρησίου λιπαρὸν ἔκ τινος ὕλης.—Strabo, p. 441.

the same may be suspected of Pliny and Ælian, especially from the words ἐλαίου δίκην of the latter. They were misled, probably, by the epithet ἀργυροδείνης, applied by Homer to the Peneius, inferring from it that the water of that river was translucent, whereas the apparent reluctance of the water of the *Titaresius* to join with that of the *Peneius* arises from the former being clear and the latter muddy. Even in the description of Tempe by Livy, some reason may be found for suspecting that he has added embellishments foreign to the authority from which he borrowed; for in describing the terrible sound of the Peneius, he approaches more nearly to the poetical exaggeration of Ovid[1] than to the truth. Although the river is now full, it is not remarkable for its

[1] Est nemus Hæmoniæ prærupta quod undique claudit
Sylva, vocant Tempe. Per quæ Peneius ab imo
Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis:
Dejectuque gravi tenues agitantia fumos
Nubila conducit, summasque aspergine sylvas
Impluit et sonitu plusquam vicina fatigat.
Hæc domus, hæc sedes, hæc sunt penetralia magni

rapidity, and nothing can be more tranquil and steady than its ordinary course. On rare occasions only, after heavy falls of rain, it rushes with impetuosity through the pass, and then sometimes effects considerable damage in the maritime plain.

Although there may never have been any road through *Tempe* along the left bank of the river, there were routes from *Gonnus* to several places on the heights on that side, and from thence into the maritime plains. One of these probably followed the same track as the modern path from Derelí to Ezeró and Rápsani, by the lake *Ascuris* and *Lapathus*, from which fortress there seems to have been a descent to the river in the Pass of Tempe, since Livy in naming Gonnus, Condylon, Charax, and "the castle which stood in the road," as the four fortresses which defended Tempe, adds that Charax was near Lapathus[1]. Charax there-

Hæc circum sedes late contexa locavit
Vestibulum ut molli velatum fronde vireret.
Epithal. Pel. et Thet. v. 285

Of the trees here mentioned, the aeria Cupressus, or pyramidal kind of Cypress, which by the contrast of its form and colour with those of other trees is one of the most beautiful embellishments of Greek scenery, is not to be found growing naturally. Nor is it a common native in any part of Greece, but has generally been planted for the decoration of gardens, mosques, and cemeteries.

[1] Hic locus (Tempe *sc.*) tam suapte natura infestus per quatuor distantia loca præsidiis regiis fuit insessus; unum in primo aditu ad Gonnum erat: alterum Condylon castello inexpugnabili, tertium circa Lapathuntem quem Characa adpellant, quartum viæ ipsi, qua et media et angustissima vallis est, inpositum, quam vel decem armatis tueri facile est.—Liv. l. 44, c. 6.

fore was on the left bank of the river, probably at an opening which ascends from that bank nearly opposite to the inscribed rock, and which leads to Rápsani. As to Condylon, the second castle mentioned by the historian, it seems also to have been on the left bank of the river, for it was sometimes called Gonno-Condylon, which explains likewise why the Perrhæbi (Gonnus itself having been a Perrhæbic town) claimed Condylon from Philip when their claims were submitted to a Roman commission at Tempe in the year B. C. 185[1]. Condylon therefore probably stood on the left bank of the river between Balamút and the ascent to Rápsani.

The fourth castle which Livy mentions without naming, could hardly have been any other than that of which the ruins still exist, half a mile to the westward of the inscribed rock, and which defended the only weak point on the right bank; for the historian has exactly described it as overhanging the road itself, in one of the narrowest parts of the Pass: it would be hypercritical to ob-

rock, there may be some doubt whether it relates to defensive works erected by Longinus in Tempe, or merely to the repairing of the road. Munire viam was a common expression, to signify the making of a road; and, combined with the excavated rock upon which the words are engraved, leave little doubt that the cutting of the rock was a part at least of the labour commemorated by the inscription. Lucius Cassius Longinus was sent by Cæsar from Illyria into Thessaly with a legion of new levies, and 200 horse, at the same time that C. Calvisius Sabinus proceeded into Ætolia with a smaller force, and Cneius Domitius Calvinus into Macedonia with two legions and 500 cavalry[1]. Calvisius was well received in Ætolia; but Thessaly was divided into two parties, one of which was strongly opposed to Cæsar. Besides these, Longinus had to contend with the cavalry of Cotys, king of Thrace, an ally of Pompey, which were hovering about Thessaly. When Scipio, therefore, made an attempt from his camp on the Haliacmon[2] to surprise Longinus, the latter, although Scipio was speedily recalled in order to save Favonius from the superior forces of Domitius, was so terrified on receiving intelligence of the approach of Scipio, and on seeing some of the cavalry of Cotys, which he mistook for that of Scipio, that he retreated towards the mountains which separated Thessaly from Ambracia, and

[1] Cæsar de B. C. l. 3, c. 34.

[2] Between Grevená and Siátista.—See vol. i. p. 314.

even began to traverse them[1]. Cæsar makes no farther mention of Longinus, who probably, like Domitius, joined Cæsar at Æginium on his arrival in Thessaly, after the battle of Dyrrhachium. It seems very improbable from these circumstances that Longinus could have had time to effect any great works in Tempe. Were it not that the first letter of the inscription is certainly not C, I should be more disposed to attribute the work to Caius Cassius Longinus, who, after having been consul in the year 171 B. C., served in Thessaly under the consul Hostilius, in the following year, and who, if he had not quitted the army when in the subsequent year it was under the command of the consul, Q. Marcius Philippus, would have had an undoubted right to style himself Pro. Cos. in an inscription—a right which is not so evident in the case of Lucius, the officer of Cæsar. When Marcius was preparing his winter quarters at Heracleia, on the coast of Macedonia, to the northward of Tempe, the historian expressly states, that for the sake of securing his supplies from Thessaly, he gave orders for repairing the roads[2] of

CHAPTER XXX.

MACEDONIA.

Bridge of Salamvría—Karítza—*Homole*—Platamóna, *Heracleia* River of Platamóna, *Apilas*—Litókhoro—Mount *Olympus*—Malathriá, *Dium*—River *Baphyrus*—Spighi—Katerína—*Passage of Olympus by the Consul Marcius*—*Callipeuce, Phila*, River *Enipeus, Libethrium, Pimpleia*—*March of the Consul beyond Dium*—*Agassæ*—*Valla*—River *Mitys*—*Hatera*—*Ascordus*—Ayán—Kitro—Old Kitro—Eleftherokhóri—*Position of Perseus on the Enipeus*—*Defeat of the Macedonians at Petra*—*Battle of Pydna*—*Pydna*—*Methone*—*Alorus*—Rivers *Haliacmon, Lydias, Axius*—Return to Saloníki.

After emerging from the pass we traverse the plain, which extends from the exit of *Tempe* to the sea, and cross the Salamvría at 5.15 by a bridge, at which on the right bank is a toll-house and at the opposite end a khan. The course of the river from this point is at first northerly, after which it turns to the S.E. and in that direction crosses a maritime plain of four or five miles in breadth. At its mouth it is separated only from the foot of Mount Kíssavo, or *Ossa*, by a lagoon communicating with the sea, in which there is a fishery. On the adjacent part of *Ossa* is a large monastery of St. Demetrius, and about two miles

beyond it Karítza, a large village situated just below the peak of *Ossa*, to the N.E.

The part of the mountain which lies between *Tempe* and Karítza is the ancient Homole, a name which appears sometimes to have been employed merely as a synonym of Ossa [1]. A town of the same name, otherwise Homolium, or the city of the Homolienses [2], stood at the foot of the mountain, but the ancient authorities differ as to its exact position: Scylax and Strabo seem to concur in placing it on the right bank of the Peneius, near the exit of Tempe [3]; that is to say, at a distance of several miles from the sea; whereas the two poets of the Argonautics represent Homole as situated on the sea shore, and the order of names in Apollonius even interposes another town, Eurymenæ, between it and Tempe [4]. To discover some

[1] Pausan. Bœot. c. 8. Theocrit. Idyll. 7, v. 103. Virg. Æn. l. 7, v. 675. Stephan. in Ὁμόλη.

[2] Stephan. in Ὁμόλιον.

λίον, Μαγνητικῆς πόλεως, ἥ ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν.—Scylax in Ἀμβρακία.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν Ὁμόλιον ἢ τὴν Ὁμόλην (λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέ-

remains of the city itself is the only mode of clearing up this difficulty; for it cannot be explained by the changes effected by the *Peneius*, which, like the other great rivers of Greece, has, by the formation of new land at its mouth, increased the breadth of the plain below *Tempe*; and appears to have taken, in consequence of the accumulation, a new direction towards the sea. The ancient mouth of the river seems indicated by a low point which is exactly opposite to the chasm of *Tempe*, and in a line with the general course of the river through the pass.

The Salamvría now divides the districts of Lárissa and Katerína, as it formerly separated *Thessaly* from *Macedonia* or *Magnesia* from *Pieria*. Having crossed the bridge usually called that of Laspokhóri from a neighbouring village we follow

Μέλλον ὑπὲκ ποταμοῖο βαλεῖν Ἀμύροιο ῥέεθρα.
Κεῖθεν δ' Εὐρυμένας τε πολυκλύστους τε φάραγγας
Ὄσσης Οὐλύμποιό τ' ἐσέδρακον· αὖταρ ἔπειτα
Κλίτεα Παλλήναια, Καναστραίην ὑπὲρ ἄκρην,
Ἥνυσαν ἐννύχιοι, πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο θέοντες.
Ἦρι δὲ νισσομένοισιν Ἄθω ἀνέτελλε κολώνη
Θρηϊκίη. Apollon. Argon. l. 1, v. 592.

Τισαίη δ' ἀπέκρυφθεν ἄκρη καὶ Σηπιὰς ἀκτὴ,
Φάνθη δὲ Σκίαθος, Δόλοπός τ' ἀνεφαίνετο σῆμα,
Ἀγχίαλός θ' Ὁμόλη, ῥεῖθρον θ' ἁλιμυρὲς Ἀναύρου,
(al. Ἀμύρου—ἐναύλου.)
Ὅς διὰ πολλὴν γαῖαν ἰεῖ μεγαλόβρομον ὕδωρ.
Οὐλύμπου δὲ βαθυσκοπέλου πρηῶνας ἐρυμνοὺς
Εἰσέδρακον Μινύαι καὶ Ἄθω δενδρώδεα κάμψαν.
Orph. Argon. v. 462.

the river for near half an hour, and then traverse a muddy part of the plain, gradually approaching the sea. The soil of this maritime level is fertile, but little cultivated; and a great part of it is covered with shrubs which shelter a great quantity of game. Maize is grown on the slopes of the mountains by the Greek inhabitants of some villages, of which the principal, besides Rápsani, are Kraniá, in a lofty situation to the north of Rápsani, containing about 150 families, and Pyrgotós, immediately below Kraniá. Farther to the north are several smaller villages. At 6.25 we pass round the extremity of a root of the mountain, and at 7.20, after having followed the sea shore for a short time, halt at a pleasant kiosk, shaded by large plane trees, and standing near the beach, just below the hill of Platamóna on the south, where a rivulet flows through the building into the sea.

Platamóna, the derivation of which, according to Meletius, is πλατεῖα μονή, or the level monastery, in allusion to its situation in the plain, appears rather from the mention made of it in the Byzan-

of one of the two ancient towns which history places on this coast between Dium and the frontier of Magnesia, namely, Heracleia and Phila: for reasons which will be stated hereafter, I am disposed to believe that it was the former.

After having dined at the kiosk, we proceed at 8.5 to cross the neck of the hill of Platamóna, descend again into the plain, which is uncultivated as far as the neighbourhood of Katerína, and at 8.50 cross the river of Platamóna just above its junction with the sea: this is a wide torrent descending from an immense chasm which separates the highest part of *Olympus* from the inferior summits terminating in the cliffs of *Tempe*. If Platamóna was the site of *Heracleia*, the lower part of this ravine will correspond to that defile or forest of *Callipeuce*, through which the Romans entered the maritime plain to the northward of Heracleia, after their perilous descent from near Lapathus, under the conduct of the consul Marcius, who among the other difficulties of the undertaking, had to contend with his own age and corpulence [1]. The appearance of the mountain from our road is sufficient to show how arduous must have been the task of conveying elephants by such a precipitous route. The historian relates that in the steepest places a succession of bridges or platforms were constructed; and that as soon as an elephant had obtained a footing on one of them, the supports

[1] Romanus imperator major sexaginta annis et prægravis corpore.—Liv. l. 44, c. 4.

being cut away, he was forced to slide down on his feet or rump to the next bridge.

The river of Platamóna is not noticed by any ancient author, except Pliny, who places an *Apilas* near Heracleia[1]. The river is sometimes dangerous, but is now dry; for the weather ever since we left Saloníki, with the exception of one day at Vérria and another at Túrnavo, has been quite free from rain; the last ten days have been even warm in the afternoon, and the sky without a cloud. A gentle north-eastern breeze has generally risen in the latter part of the day bringing with it a frost at night, which lasts all the ensuing day where the ground is shaded by high mountains or woods, but in other places yields to the power of the sun at an early hour. At 9.12, Leftokaryá, a Greek village, is three miles on our left, on the lowest falls of *Olympus*. At 9.45 we quit the direct road, which follows a line parallel to the shore, and mount a long, barren slope, to Litókhoro, where we arrive at 10.45 the ascent having been very slow in consequence of our tired horses and the badness of the road. Litókhoro is situated at

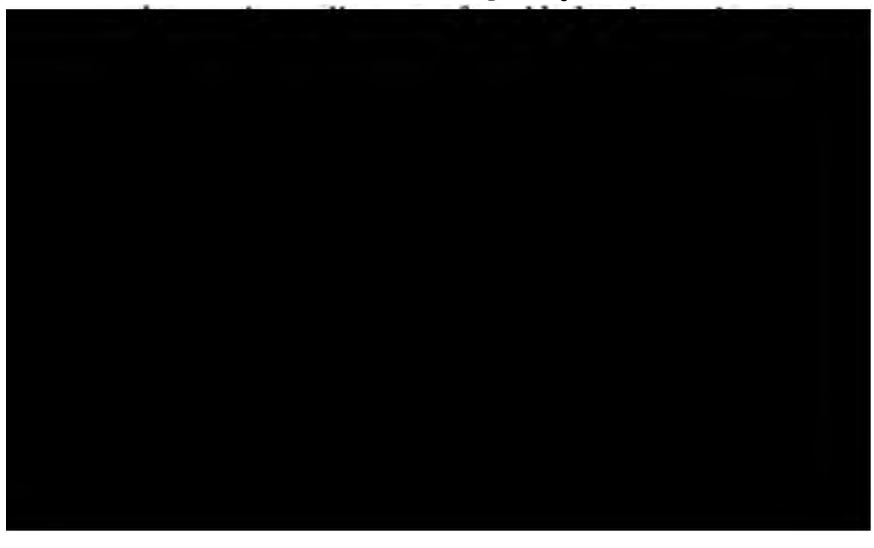
precipices of which form a beautiful contrast with the rich woody heights on either side of the great chasm above Litókhoro. From the village and opening, the ground falls on both sides of the river in a longeven slope to the sea side, terminating to the south at the river of Platamóna, and to the north extending to the plain of Katerína. The torrent flows from Litókhoro in a wide bed between precipitous banks, which gradually diminish in height to the sea. On the opposite side of the gulf are seen Saloníki, Cape Karaburnú, Mount Khortiátzi, and a range of mountains which appear to form a continued range from the latter summit as far as the extreme Cape of *Pallene*. It is reckoned four hours from hence to the monastery of St. Dionysius, which is situated just below the summit of *Olympus*, not far from the head of the great ravine of Litókhoro. The Litokhorítes fabricate skutiá, or cloth for making capots, and have several fulling mills in the ravine above the village.

Dec. 21.—This morning, the sky still continuing cloudless, and the atmosphere of that extreme clearness which is its characteristic in Greece in the fine days of winter, the summit of the broad Olympus, as Homer so justly describes it [1], presents itself between the precipitous sides of the ravine of Litókhoro, with a still more admirable and imposing grandeur than yesterday evening,

[1] μακρὸς is the epithet which the poet most frequently attaches to Olympus. Next to that is ἀγάννιφος, from its being more snowy than any other mountain in Greece.

when the sun, being behind the mountain, left its eastern side comparatively dark, but afforded a clear view of the *Chalcidic* coast and hills; the rising sun now lights up the snowy summit of *Olympus*, as well as all the rocks, woods, torrents, and precipices below it; distinguishes them from one another by the strongest shading, and seems to bring them all within half their real distance.

At 3.10, Turkish time, we begin to descend the slope obliquely into the plain of Katerína. The ground is stony, barren, and quite uncultivated. Near the bottom an old church, situated in a little grove of trees at a small distance from the left of the road, contains some ancient squared blocks of stone and some capitals of columns. Arrived in the plain, we traverse, by a winding path, a wood where shrubs, particularly the paliúri or Jerusalem thorn, fill up the intervals between groves of handsome planes and oaks, and at 4.35 arrive at Malathriá [1], a tjiftlík lately established by Velý Pashá, occupied by Greek labourers, whom he has sent here, and managed by one of his Alba-



rows of houses is yet occupied. Five hundred yards below the tjiftlík, in a thick grove of trees and shrubs, are many copious springs of water, which unite and immediately form a large stream and a marsh, of which the discharge joins the sea at a bridge called Babá Kiúpresi, in the direct road from Platamóna to Katerína. At the river's mouth, which is not far from the bridge, there is a skáloma frequented by small boats, which are drawn up on the beach in bad weather.

In the space between the village and the sources, where corn is growing among the stumps of the burnt bushes, I find some remains of a stadium and theatre. None of the stone-work which may be supposed to have formed the seats and superstructure of these monuments now exists, with the exception of two or three squared masses on the outside of the theatre; and as the soil is a fine black mould, the effects of the seasons have reduced them both to mere hillocks of earth, but retaining their original form and dimensions sufficiently to show that the stadium was about equal in length to the other stadia of Greece, and that the theatre was about 250 feet in diameter. Below the theatre, on the edge of the water, are the foundations of a large building, and a detached stone which seems to have belonged to a flight of steps.

Some foundations of the walls of the city to which these monuments belonged are visible also among the bushes; but it would be in vain to attempt to trace them in such a labyrinth without a guide, an assistance which I cannot succeed in

obtaining, even to show me some ruined churches which are said to exist among the paliúria, lest the consequence to the poor Greeks should be an avanía. I can only find one sepulchral stele, and that so much buried in the ground that no inscription is visible. There is a tumulus with a flat summit, about 500 yards to the southward of the theatre, and at an equal distance from the sea.

There can be no doubt that here stood the famous Dium, which, though not large, was one of the leading cities of Macedonia [1], and the great bulwark of its maritime frontier to the south. Nevertheless, it was easily occupied, and almost destroyed in the Social War by the Ætolians, whose capital soon paid the debt of cruelty and destruction which they contracted on that occasion [2]. In the Persic war Dium seems to have thoroughly recovered that disaster, and by the importance of its situation it became at length a Roman colony [3]. The remains near the sources are probably those of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, from which the city received its name; for we are informed that public games called Olym-

Jupiter Olympius at Dium [1]. The theatre and stadium served doubtless for that celebration, and they formed probably part of the Ἱερὸν, as at Olympia, Nemea, and the Isthmus. It is clear from Livy that the temple was not within the city [2], in which particular it resembled many other great temples in Greece. The historian, however, is not correct in asserting that the distance between Olympus and the sea was little more than a mile, as indeed his own description of the place might alone give reason to suspect, since he adds, that half the space was occupied by the marsh of the Baphyrus, thus leaving little more than half a mile for the temple, theatre, stadium, and city, as well as for a level space between the walls and the foot of the mountain [3]. Pausanias seems to have had a more correct idea of the distance; for he states, that on proceeding *twenty stades* from Dium *towards* the mountain, there stood a monument, which, according to the

[1] Diodor. l. 17, c. 16.—Stephan. in Δῖον.

[2] Consul.... præmisso Popilio ad explorandos passus circa Dium, postquam patere omnia in omnes partes animadvertit, secundis castris pervenit ad Dium, metarique sub ipso templo, ne quid sacro in loco violaretur, jussit. Ipse urbem ingressus, &c.—l. 44, c. 7.

[3] Nam quum Olympi radices montis paullo plus quam mille passuum ad mare relinquant spatium cujus dimidium loci occupat ostium late restagnans Baphyri amnis, partem planiciæ aut Jovis templum aut oppidum tenet: reliquum perexiguum fossâ modicâ valloque claudi poterat et saxorum ad manum silvestrisque materiæ tantum erat ut vel murus objici turresque excitari potuerint.—Liv. l. 44, c. 6.

Diastæ, contained the bones of Orpheus[1]. The river Baphyrus or Baphyras, though so short in its course, and enveloped in marshes, was a stream of some celebrity. It is noticed by Lycophron[2], and by the poet Archestratus, who in the course of his travels, *διὰ γαστριμαργίαν*, noticed the excellence of the *τευθίδες*, or cuttle-fish of the river Baphyrus, at the Pierian Dium, and recorded it in the same verse in which he celebrated those of Ambracia[3]. Pausanias asserts that this was the same river named Helicon, which, after flowing 75 stades above ground, had then a subterraneous course of 22 stades, and on its reappearance became navigable under the name of Baphyras.

Dium is one among numerous instances of ancient cities of opulence and celebrity, situated in the most unhealthy spots. In some of those places the cultivation and draining which attend a dense population may have afforded a remedy to the natural inconvenience more or less effectual, but neither the nature of the place nor ancient testimony admit the probability that the marsh of Dium was ever drained. Its effects, combined

[1] *Ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ Δίου τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος καὶ στάδια προεληλυθότι εἴκοσι κίων τέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ ἐπίθημα ἐπὶ τῷ κίονι ὑδρία λίθου· ἔχει δὲ τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἡ ὑδρία καθὰ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι. Ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς Ἑλικὼν ἄχρι σταδίων ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε· προελθόντι δὲ τὸ ῥεῦμα ἀφανίζεται τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου κατὰ τῆς γῆς· διαλεῖπον δὲ μάλιστα δύο καὶ εἴκοσι στάδια, ἄνεισι τὸ ὕδωρ αὖθις καὶ ὄνομα Βαφύρας ἀντὶ Ἑλικῶνος λαβὼν κάτεισιν ἐς θάλασσαν ναυσίπορος.*—Pausan. Bœot. c. 30.

[2] Lycoph. v. 274.

[3] Ap. Athen. l. 7, c. 22.

with that of the too great vicinity of the steep sides of *Olympus*, could hardly have failed in having a pernicious effect upon the salubrity of the place; and in fact, Malathriá is now considered a most unwholesome situation in the summer. Were not the evidence conclusive as to the site of Dium, it might be supposed from the resemblance, that the modern Malathriá is a corruption of the ancient Libethrium; the similarity is to be attributed perhaps to the two names having a common origin in some word of the ancient language of Macedonia.

Leaving the tjiftlík at 6.20, we cross the plain by a winding road, and at 7.13 leave Andreótissa two miles to the left. This village is situated on the side of a long projection, advancing into the *Pierian* plain from the mountains which reach from *Olympus* to the ravine of the *Haliacmon*, where they are separated by that chasm in the great eastern ridge of Northern Greece from the portion of it which was anciently named Bermius. The highest summit of the *Pierian* part of the range rises about eight miles to the northward of Vlakholívadho, and is a conspicuous object in all the country to the eastward, particularly from Saloníki. Its name seems from Pliny to have been Pierus [1]. Pausanias, in alluding to the mountain Pieria as near Dium [2], may be supposed to have referred to the mountains of this Macedonian province in a more comprehensive sense, and as including all the heights connected with *Olympus*

[1] Plin. l. 4, c. 8. [2] Pausan. Bœot. c. 30.

which border the *Pierian* plain. A Scholiast of Apollonius, alluding to the same ridges, describes Pieria as a mountain of Thrace [1], which was a correct definition of it according to the most ancient chorography of this part of Greece.

At 7.29 we pass through Spighi [2], a large village in the plain, near the extremity of the ridge of Andreótissa where it ends in a point, upon high which, in a very conspicuous situation, stands a tumulus overgrown with trees. This monument indicates perhaps the site of the principal town of *Pieria*, toward the middle of the province, or intermediate between *Dium* and *Pydna*. It would seem from Stephanus and Suidas, that there was a city named *Pieria* [3], which may have been here situated.

At 7.40 we cross a clear and rapid stream, noted for the abundance of its fish, and which, though now small, is said in times of rain to be wide, full of quicksands, and dangerous to pass: this may easily be imagined, as it appears to receive most of the waters from the northern end of *Olympus*, as well as those which descend from the southern extremity of its continuation, the *Pierian* ridge.

which has eight or nine large villages in its dependency, besides tjiftlíks, contains only 100 poor Greek houses, and as many Turkish. The produce of the plain is corn and flax, and the Bey Salý is almost the only proprietor. Velý Pashá is married to his sister, since which alliance the district of Katerína has been free from thieves: on the other hand Salý's new kinsman, the great Tepeleniote, having heard that the Bey had lately made himself the heir of a deceased agá of Katerína, has just sent to borrow 15 purses of him.

I here learn that all the land about Malathriá was entirely covered with bushes, until it was lately cleared by Velý Pashá, who was tempted by the richness of the soil to establish a farm there. Before that time the remains of antiquity were probably known only to the shepherds. Indeed I had not heard of their existence when I arrived at Malathriá. The ruined churches, however, show that a Christian village of some importance once occupied the site, which had been for many years a desert when Velý took it in hand. The deep mould may conceal, perhaps, and preserve many fine remains of antiquity, for Dium was noted for its splendid buildings and the multitude of its statues [1]. Here were deposited twenty-five of the works of Lysippus, representing the ἑταῖροι, or peers of Alexander, who fell at the battle of the Granicus [2].

Having ascertained the site of Dium, it is not

[1] Liv. l. 44, c. 7.—Vide not. 1, p. 410.

[2] Arrian. de Exp. Alex. l. 1. c. 16.

difficult, after the tour of mount *Olympus* which I have just made, to apply the history of the third and fourth years of the Persic war to the real topography, though for the complete elucidation of the former year, it would be desirable at the proper season to cross the mountain from Platamóna to Elassóna, or the reverse; and this would be the more interesting as Polybius, whose authority the Latin historian followed in his narrative of that campaign, was himself present in the passage across Mount Olympus[1], having arrived in the Roman camp in Perrhæbia, on a mission from the council of the Achæan league just before the movement began. The consul, Q. Marcius Philippus, having landed at Ambracia in the spring, with 5000 men for the supply of the legions in Thessaly, marched from thence into the Thessalian plains, where he was met by his predecessor, Hostilius, who had moved for that purpose from his position at Pharsalus. Marcius, assuming the command of all the forces, then marched into Perrhæbia, where he encamped in the Tripolitis, between Azorus and Doliche, intending to carry the war

Volustana (Sérvia) by which Hostilius had invaded Elimeia in the preceding year; 12,000 under Hippias at Lapathus, above the lake Ascuris[1], and the remaining forces at Dium, from whence Perseus himself ranged the coast between Dium, Heracleia, and Phila, like a man in a state of utter indecision.

The consul having resolved to attempt the passage by Octolophus[2], sent forward his son with 4,000 men, under the command of M. Claudius, and followed immediately with his whole army. So difficult were the roads, that the advanced party only marched 15 miles in two days, at the end of which they arrived at a tower named Eudierum; on the third day, at the end of seven miles, they found themselves in the presence of the Macedonians under Hippias. Marcius, who had reached the lake Ascuris when he received the report of Claudius, continued his route until he arrived at the distance of a mile from the enemy, when he occupied some heights which

[1] Ad castellum, quod super Ascuridem paludem (Lapathus vocatur locus) Hippias tenere saltum cum duodecim millium Macedonum præsidio jussus. —Liv. l. 44, c. 2.

[2] Consuli sententia stetit eo saltu ducere ubi propter Octolophum *diximus regis castra*. —Liv. l. 44, c. 3. — These last words show that there has been a loss of text at the end of the preceding book, where some mention was made of the king's movements after his return into Macedonia from an unsuccessful expedition into Acarnania in the middle of winter. It appears that in the ensuing spring he had encamped at Octolophus, and had retired from thence into Pieria on the approach of the Roman army.

commanded a view of all the sea coast between Dium and Phila.

Octolophus was probably near the issue of the *Titaresius*, or Elassonítiko, from Mount *Olympus* into the valley of Elassóna. Ezeró being the only lake in the part of the *Olympene* ridges traversed by the Romans on this occasion, is evidently the *Ascuris*, and the ancient remains at Konίspoli lying in the direction towards that lake from *Octolophus* as well as from the Roman camp between *Azorus* and *Doliche*, seem to answer perfectly to those of *Eudierum*: the latter interval moreover corresponding with tolerable correctness to the fifteen miles of the historian. The ruggedness of the mountains sufficiently explains the length of time which it required for the Romans under Claudius to reach Eudierum. Nor is the ancient castle near Rápsani less adapted to *Lapathus*, not only by its proximity to *Tempe*, as I before remarked, but by that part of Livy's narrative also, from which we may infer that Lapathus, although described as having been "super Ascuridem paludem," was at some distance from that lake, since

After a day's repose the consul led his forces against Hippias, and both on that day and the following there was a continued combat, but of light troops only, the nature of the ground not admitting of any more serious conflict. The fame and power of Rome were at this moment in the utmost peril; but the consul fully sensible of his hazardous situation, judged that it would be still more dangerous to retreat than to advance, and Perseus fortunately having made no attempt to support or relieve the fatigued troops of Hippias, the consul left Popillius with a sufficient force to observe them, and began a descent to the maritime plain, in which at the end of four days of extreme labour, he pitched his camp between Libethrium and Heracleia. Even here, had he not been opposed to an enemy who was under the influence of that dementation which is the surest prognostic of falling power, his position was still little better than desperate, as he was surrounded on every side by strong passes, in the hands of superior forces, and without means of obtaining sufficient supplies for his army by sea. But his foolish opponent, as soon as he received intelligence of the approach of the consul, quitted his excellent position at Dium, ordered the garrisons to be withdrawn from Phila and the positions above Tempe, and retreated to Pydna.

The consul having detached Sp. Lucretius against the enemy's posts in his rear, and to open a communication with Larissa, advanced cautiously to Dium, which Perseus had unaccountably abandoned, since it would have been

easy for him, observes Livy, to have fortified the space between the city and the mountain by a rampart and ditch, or even by walls and towers, for which the neighbouring mountain would have supplied ample materials of wood and stone. After having halted one day at Dium, the consul proceeded to the river Mitys. On the next day he received the submission of Agassæ, and on the following marched to the river Ascordus, but finding that supplies became scarcer as he advanced, he returned to Dium, where he soon received the grateful intelligence that Lucretius was in possession of Phila and Tempe, and had found an abundance of provisions in these and the neighbouring fortresses. Marcius then retired from Dium to Phila, for the sake of strengthening that place, and of supplying his soldiers with corn,—a movement which having the appearance of avoiding the enemy was not generally approved in the Roman army. Its immediate consequence was, that Perseus returned to Dium, and after having repaired the damage which the walls of the city had received from the Romans, placed his army

The next operation of Marcius was against Heracleia, now the only place on the Pierian coast southward of the Enipeus which was not in his possession. It was situated five miles from Phila, about midway between Tempe and Dium, on a rock overhanging a river[1]. Being strong and well garrisoned, and within sight of the king's fires on the Enipeus, Heracleia made an obstinate resistance, but was at length taken by means of the κεραμωτὸν, or testudo, by which the assailants advanced to the wall upon the united shields of a dense body of their comrades below them. The Roman commander then removed his camp to Heracleia, ordered roads to be made into Thessaly, magazines to be erected at convenient places, and huts for those who were to convey the supplies. From Livy's description of *Heracleia*, some doubt may arise whether it was situated at Platamóna itself, or at the mouth of the river of the same name: either place would sufficiently suit the words "mediâ regione inter Dium Tempeque," but Platamóna cannot be said to overhang the river which I suppose to be the Apilas of Pliny, being more than two miles distant from it. On the other hand there is no rocky height at the mouth of the river, and Platamóna being the only hill on this coast, and the only post possessing any natural strength, is obviously the position in which the principal fortress is likely to have been situated. It would seem, therefore, that the "*amnis* at the foot of the rock

[1] Mediâ regione inter Dium Tempeque in rupe amni imminente positum.—Liv. l. 44, c. 8.

of *Heracleia*" was no other than the rivulet which flows through the kiosk at Platamóna. Phila having been the frontier fortress of Macedonia towards Magnetis, and distant 5 miles from Heracleia, appears to have stood near the mouth of the *Peneius* on the left bank.

Libethrium was situated, as evidently follows from the transactions related by Livy, between Dium and Heracleia. Pausanias reports a tradition, that the town was once destroyed, together with all its inhabitants, by the inundation of a torrent called Sus; and that on the preceding day the tomb of Orpheus, which was near Libethrium, had been injured by another accident, which exposed the poet's bones to the light, and induced the people of Dium to remove them to a spot 20 stades distant from their city towards Olympus, where they erected a monument to him, consisting of an urn of stone upon a column [1]. The only two torrents which could have effected such havoc as Pausanias states, are the rivers of Platamóna and of Litókhoro. The former, however, was near *Heracleia*, and probably in the

site of *Pimpleia*, for this birth-place of Orpheus appears to have been near Libethrium, and the Baphyrus[1], and the σκοπὴ, or σκοπίη Πιμπληΐς of the poets, corresponds remarkably with the elevated situation of Litókhoro and its commanding prospect.

It is not easy to afford any illustration of the three marches of the Romans beyond Dium; the first of which terminated at the river Mitys, the second at Agassæ, and the third at the Ascordus; for these names are not found in any other ancient authority, unless the last be the same as the Acerdos, which occurs, though not marked as a river, in the Tabular Itinerary, where it is placed at a distance of 12 M. P. short of Berœa[2], on the road thither from Larissa by Tempe and Dium, which could not have been very different from the route of Marcius. As Pydna is not mentioned in the consul's march, he followed probably a direction more westerly than that town, which was on the sea coast, and crossing the *Pierian* ridge descended upon the *Haliacmon*, not far from where it issues

[1] . . . . . κεκλανσμένος
Νύμφαισιν αἳ φίλαντο Βηφύρου γάνος
Λιβηθρίην θ' ὕπερθε Πιμπλείας σκοπήν.
Lycophron. v. 273

Πρῶτά νυν Ὀρφῆος μνησώμεθα τόν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὴ
Καλλιόπη Θρῄϊκι φατίζεται εὐνηθεῖσα
Οἰάγρῳ σκοπιῆς Πιμπληΐδος ἄγχι τεκέσθαι.
Apollon. l. 1, v. 23.

[2] Larissa 15 M. P. Olympum 10 M. P. Stenas (Tempe) 15 M. P. Sabatium 12 M. P. Bium (Dium) 12 M. P. Hatera 12 M. P. Anamo 7 M. P. Bada 20 M. P. Arulos 15 M. P. Acerdos 12 M. P. Berœa. — Tab. Peutinger, Seg. v.

from the ravines into the plain of Vérria. The distance of this point, indeed, from Dium, being not more than twenty-five miles in a straight line, is little for a three days' march; but the consul was suspicious of some hidden design in the enemy's retreat, and was chiefly intent upon collecting supplies, whence he may be supposed to have made small progress in direct distance. The *Mitys* was perhaps the river of Katerína, and *Agassæ* may have been situated about midway between Katerína and the passage of the Vistrítza, in the way to Vérria. I should have suspected that Ascordus was an error for Astræus, aud that the river which the Romans reached was the Haliacmon itself, which, as I have before remarked, bore the name of Astræus in the lower part of its course. The Acerdos of the Itinerary, however, is opposed to this opinion by its resemblance to Ascordus, which may, therefore, have been a tributary of the Haliacmon, joining it from the right and having a town upon it of the same name.

Katerína so nearly approaches in sound to the *Hatera*, which is the first place occurring in the

Katerína; but this excess is less than a due proportion of that which occurs on the whole line from Dium to Berrhœa, which is 78 M. P. in the Table, and less about 36 English miles in direct distance. Bada in the same geographical document has some resemblance to Balla, or Valla, which we learn from Ptolemy and Pliny to have been a Pierian town[1]. In that case Valla would seem to have been about midway between Dium and Berrhœa; but I am more inclined to place Valla in the mountainous part of Pieria, because we are told by an author cited by Stephanus that the inhabitants of Valla were removed to Pythium[2], and Pythium was in *Perrhæbia*, at the south-western foot of the *Pierian* mountains. Possibly Velvendó may have derived its appellation from a corruption of *Valla*.

Dec. 22.—At 5.7, Turkish time, we proceed from Katerína with the menzíl, and follow a good carriage-road across the beautiful *Pierian* plain, which is here near ten miles in breadth from the sea to the woody falls of the *Olympene* range, or Mount *Pierus*.

The soil is excellent, but very partially cultivated: large trees occur at intervals, and towards the sea are some extensive woods, which are famed among the sportsmen of Saloníki for their pheasants. A place on the shore where boats anchor in fair weather, or are drawn up in foul, serves for the skáloma of Katerína.

[1] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.—Plin. l. 4, c. 10.

[2] Theagenes ap. Stephan. in Βάλλα.

At 6 the plain terminates, and we begin to cross a range of low hills, which, advancing from the *Pierian* mountain, meet the shore at the north-western angle of the *Thermaic* Gulf. At 6.7 we arrive at Kutjúk (or Little) Ayán: Buyúk (or Great) Ayán is one mile on the left. Both these villages are the property of Salý Bey. The labourers who inhabit them furnish all the labour, cattle, and instruments of agriculture, receive seed-corn from the Bey, and share half the crop after the dhekatía has been deducted from it. At Little Ayán, in the wall of a church which is surrounded by some ancient foundations of squared blocks, is a piece of a statue with drapery of fine workmanship, and an inscribed stone, erected by one Ophelion in memory of his father of the same name [1].

Continuing to cross the heights where the varied surface is clothed with a beautiful mixture of rich corn-land and woods, we have half a mile on our right, on the slope towards the sea, two tumuli standing close together, one with a flat top, the other peaked. They indicate the vicinity of the

of the road contains a Corinthian capital and many wrought blocks of stone. Kitro, which is one hour and eight minutes from Ayán, stands at two miles from the sea, on a hill which although of inconsiderable height is one of the highest of these maritime ridges. Though now consisting only of the houses of a few Greek labourers, with that of a Turkish subashí, placed here by the Bey of Katerína, to whom the greater part of the land belongs, Kitro retains proofs of former importance in six churches, three of which are in ruins, and in several Turkish pyrghi in the same state.

In all the churches are to be seen squared blocks of Hellenic times, together with some remains of architecture which are chiefly of later date. At one of the churches are three sepulchral stelæ bearing inscriptions, only one of which is in a copyable condition. It is a memorial of a common form, followed by two elegiac couplets showing that the monument was erected by Artemidorus to his brothers Eiarinus and Sporus of Heracleia, who were twins[1]. Another church, which is almost new, contains a sepulchral monument, erected by one Ulpia, for herself, in her lifetime. Like the former, it is engraved in characters indicating a late date in the Roman Empire.

[1] Ἀρτεμίδωρος Εἰαρινῷ καὶ Σπόρῳ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μνείας χάριν.

Τῇδε καταφθιμένους διδύμους δύο φῶτας ἀρίστους
Εἰαρινὸν τύμβος καὶ Σπόρον εἰσέλαχεν·
Πατρὶς δ' Ἡράκλεια καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ τεύξας
Λάϊνον ἀμφοτέροις βωμὸν ὕπερθε τάφου.

V. Inscription, No. 157.

[2] V. Inscription, No. 158.

Around the latter church are some ancient foundations, and in another part of the hill of Kitro a sorus, which is now employed for the reservoir of the public fountain, its lid serving for a trough underneath. On leaving Kitro at 1.33, we take the road to its skala, which is merely an open beach near the lagoon before mentioned; but at two-thirds of the distance, we cross the fields to the left and fall into a carriage-road which leads along the coast from Katerína to Elefthero-khóri without passing through Kitro.

A little further, we arrive at 9.10 at some ruins called Paleókastro, or Paleós Kitros, consisting only of the foundations of a small oblong rectangular castle which occupied the summit of a cliff on the sea side. In one place a piece of wall remains, formed of small stones and mortar intermixed with pieces of Roman tiles. Some square blocks among the foundations are the only appearances of Hellenic antiquity, nor is there any thing in the situation or construction of this castle that tends to refer it to those times. After a halt of ten minutes, we proceed for a short distance near the brow of the cliffs

for which there is at present no sale. The Turkish granaries in these parts are immense square wooden cases, with a kiosk at the top: they are generally the most conspicuous buildings in the village. The Turkish houses correspond to the natural fertility of the soil, and are spacious and tolerably commodious. Beyond Elefthero-khóri, on the slope of the same hills, stands Kulindrós [1], and then Libánova [2], about seven miles from Elefthero-khóri, near the point of the heights where they project farthest into the maritime plain. Kulindrós is the largest of the three villages.

The Epitomizer of Strabo, and a Scholiast of Demosthenes, assert that the Κίτρος of their time was the same place as the ancient Pydna [3]; but as their authority is of no great weight, not much better indeed than the opinion of a modern Greek would be, and as the facts of history seem to require a more southern position for Pydna, I am inclined to place it at Ayán, Kitro itself having probably risen in the middle ages upon the decay of Pydna and Methone in an intermediate position between those two Hellenic cities.

When Perseus heard of the approach of the new consul L. Æmilius Paullus, as successor to Q. Marcius Philippus, in the command of the Roman army in Macedonia, among other preparatory measures by land and sea, he sent 5000 Macedonians to garrison Pythium and Petra, in order that his camp on the Enipeus might not be turned through

[1] Κουλιντρός.
[2] Λημπάνοβα.
[3] Strabo, (Epit. l. 7) p. 330. —Schol. in Demosth. Olyn. 1.

Perrhæbia: he adopted at the same time various precautions for the defence of the Enipeus, which is naturally a position of singular strength. Notwithstanding these efforts, he was obliged to retreat to Pydna in consequence of his detachment in the pass of Petra having been overthrown by P. Scipio Nasica, who had been sent against it accompanied by the consul's eldest son, Q. Fabius Maximus. As secrecy was essential to the success of this design, Scipio had been detached with 5000 chosen men from the camp in front of the Enipeus to Heracleia, for the pretended purpose of being there embarked on a maritime expedition against the Macedonian coast; but where, instead of embarking, he placed himself under the guidance of two Perrhæbians, who conducted him by a circuitous march to Pythium on the fourth watch of the third day[1]. Their route was probably through Tempe, and by Phalanna, Oloosson, and Doliche, to Pythium,—a distance of more than sixty miles,—and consequently requiring the time which Livy has stated upon the incontestable authority of Polybius. Plutarch, therefore, seems to

tarch to refer to; but as in questioning the accuracy of Polybius upon an important circumstance relating to it, he has given us an intimation of the statement of the Greek historian, we have thus the means of choosing between the two authorities on this point. Polybius, as we have seen from Livy, represented Scipio's detachment to have been 5000 strong. Plutarch, on the contrary, on the authority of a letter of Scipio to a certain king, asserts that they amounted to more than 8000. Another disagreement is of smaller moment, or rather is no more than natural: Polybius, an old soldier, was satisfied with saying that the enemy were surprised in their sleep, and driven before the Romans; while Scipio, who was in his first campaign, took a pleasure in relating that there was a brisk action on the mountain, that he himself killed a Thracian, and that Milo, the Macedonian commander, fled in his shirt.

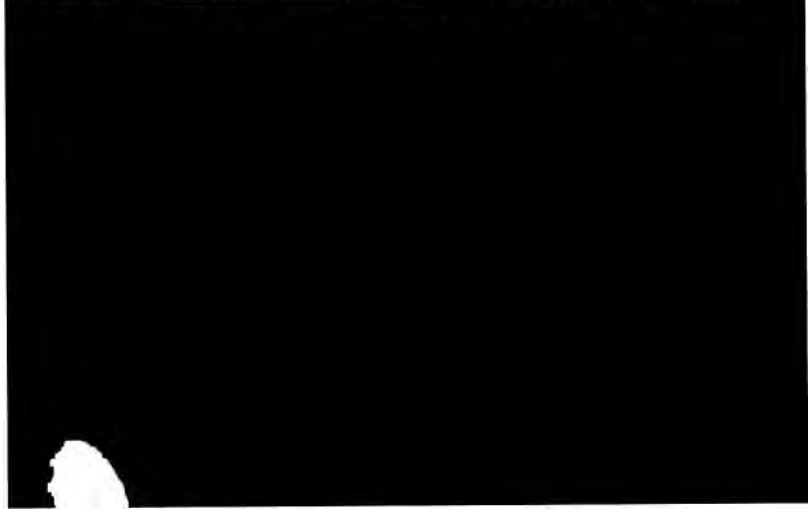
During the three days in which Scipio was effecting his circuitous route, the consul arrested the attention of Perseus by skirmishes of light infantry, which chiefly took place between the precipitous banks inclosing the bed of the river: on the third day he made a demonstration of crossing the river near the mouth. These operations had the desired effect, for they were suddenly interrupted by the unexpected intelligence which the king received from a Cretan deserter[1], of the attack and defeat

[1] Livy says:—Tertio die prælio abstinuit (Consul *sc.*) degressus ad imam partem castrorum veluti per devexum in mare brachium transitum tentaturus. Perseus quod in oculis erat * * * * * * * *; the remainder is lost, but may be

of his forces at Petra. Thus threatened with an assault from the enemy on both sides, he made a rapid retreat to Pydna, while the consul, having effected a junction with Nasica, followed the enemy with all possible expedition, and at mid-day had advanced so near to the king's position at Pydna that it was a question whether, notwithstanding the heat and the fatigue of the troops, he should not then attack the Macedonians. The distance from the *Enipeus* to Ayán being not more than a four or five hours' march, the whole operation might have been effected in the long days near the summer solstice, when the event occurred [1],—but not very easily if *Pydna* had stood at Kitro.

supplied from the following words of Plutarch: Τῷ Περσεῖ, τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἀτρεμοῦντα κατὰ χώραν ὁρῶντι καὶ μὴ λογιζομένῳ τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ Κρὴς αὐτόμολος ἦκε μηνύων τὴν περίοδον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. Plutarch then proceeds, in defiance of probability and

fore the battle, fixes its exact date to the 22d June, 168 B.C. and shows the "pridie nonas Septembres" of Livy to be erroneous, although it is consistent with some other dates in l. 45, c. 1, 2, as well as with the θέρους ἦν ὥρα φθίνοντος of Plutarch. On the other hand,



The description of the field of battle furnishes another argument in favour of the opinion, that *Pydna* was at Ayán. Livy, Strabo, and Plutarch, agree in showing that the hostile encounter occurred in the plain *before Pydna*, which was traversed by a small river, and bordered by heights affording a convenient retreat and shelter to the light infantry, while the plain alone contained the level ground necessary for the phalanx, —circumstances which accord perfectly with the plain extending from Katerína to the heights of Ayán, whereas the entire country from the latter to Elefthero-khóri, in the midst of which Kitro is situated, affords no sufficient plain, but consists, with the exception of some small level spaces on the sea shore, entirely of the last falls of a mountain, which Plutarch names Olocrus.

The hostile camps were separated during one night by the river. On the following day the action was brought on by an accident, and had not been long engaged on the whole line, when Perseus set an example of flight, which was followed by all his cavalry; the phalanx nevertheless resisted with obstinacy, but when at length the consul had succeeded in penetrating it, the overthrow of the Macedonians was so complete, that 20,000 were slain, and more than 10,000 made prisoners, with a loss of only 100 killed on the side of the Romans.

It appears from Diodorus, that Pydna stood originally on the sea side, but that Archelaus, king of Macedonia, having taken it in the year B. C. 411, removed it to a distance of 20 stades

from the shore [1]. This distance accords with that of the heights of Ayán from the sea, as well as with the relation which the same historian has left us of the capture of Pydna by Cassander. Towards the close of the year B.C. 316, Olympias, the mother of Alexander, retired into Pydna with a large army, attended by cavalry and elephants. Cassander being unable to besiege the place on account of the season, encamped around it, formed a circumvallation terminating at either end at the sea, and blockaded the port with his ships [2]. Olympias resisted until the spring, when her supplies totally failing, the horses and beasts of burthen having been devoured, the elephants having died [3], great numbers of the men having perished of disease and starvation, and others having deserted, the queen herself attempted to escape by sea but was taken prisoner. The fall of Pydna was followed by the surrender of Pella and Amphipolis to Cassander, who was not long in confirming his claim to the Macedonian throne, by marrying the sister of Alexander, by putting his mother to death, and by shutting up his widow

Kitro of the port of *Pydna*, but the coast has doubtless undergone a considerable change by means of the alluvion of *Olympus*, and the *Pierian* mountain.

As Methone is named in the Periplus of Scylax—as it was one of the Greek colonies established in early times on this coast, then considered a part of Thrace, and as it was possessed by Athens when she was mistress of the seas [1], there can be little doubt that it was upon or very near the shore. Elefthero-khóri is so advantageous a situation that we can hardly suppose it to have been neglected by the ancients; and it is for this reason principally, that I conceive it to have been the site of *Methone*, for its distance from Ayán is certainly greater than the 40 stades which the epitomizer of Strabo places between Pydna and Methone. The epitome, however, is not much to be depended upon in this passage, as it names the *Haliacmon* in the place of the river of Katerína and an *Erigon* in that of the Haliacmon; whereas the only Erigon known from ancient history was a branch of the Axius, which joined it 80 miles inland.

As Alorus is stated to have been situated between the Haliacmon and Lydias by Scylax [2],

[1] Thucyd. l. 6, c. 7.—Scylax in *Μακεδονία*.—Demosth. Olynth. 1.—Diodor. l. 16, c. 34.—Strab. (Epit. l. 7) p. 330.—Plutarch in Qu. Gr. states that Methone was a colony of Eretria.

[2] *Ἀπὸ δὲ Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ Μακεδόνες εἰσὶν ἔθνος καὶ κόλπος Θερμαῖος· πρώτη πόλις Μακεδονίας, Ἡράκλειον· Δῖον, Πύδνα πόλις Ἑλληνὶς, Μεθώνη πόλις Ἑλληνὶς, καὶ Ἀλιάκμων ποταμὸς, Ἄλωρος πόλις καὶ πο-*

whose correct enumeration of the other places between the Peneius and Thessalonica entitles him to confidence in this particular, it seems to have stood not far from Kapsokhóri, the position of which, opposite to the innermost part of the *Thermaic* gulf, agrees with the description of Alorus given by Stephanus[1]. Perhaps Paleá-khora, near Kapsokhóri, may have received its name from its preserving some remains of *Alorus*.

Dec. 23.—The wind being "from the Vardar," according to the local phrase, and consequently fair for the City, I descend over rich hills and through small woods of oaks, and embark at the skala of Elefthero-khóri, which is a little more than half an hour distant from the village where the hills terminate, and the great plain begins, which is watered by the Vistrítza, Karasmák, and Vardhári, and occupied in great part by the lake of Iánnitza, or *Pella*. Elefthero-khóri seems thus to be the natural frontier of *Pieria* and *Bottiæa*. Besides the lake of *Pella*, the maritime part of the plain contains a long succession of lagoons, beginning near Elefthero-khóri and reaching nearly as far as Saloníki.

tween the Axius and the Echidorus[1]. They produce an abundance of fish and salt. Of the latter, large heaps are seen near the extremity of the heights of Elefthero-khóri on the water-side. A gentle breeze carries us at the rate of five miles an hour along the coast; in an hour and a half we arrive at a projecting cape formed by the alluvion of the *Haliacmon*. In the time of Herodotus this river was joined by the Lydias, or discharge of the lake of Pella, but a change has now taken place in the course of the latter, which joins not the *Haliacmon* but the *Axius*. The *Haliacmon* itself appears to have moved its lower course to the eastward of late, so that in time, perhaps, all the three rivers may unite before they join the sea. In all the large rivers of Greece, similar changes of direction in the lower parts of their course are observable. The new soil which is brought down by the water, and distributed along the shore by the sea, acted upon by prevailing winds and currents, produces a continual change of obstacles and of relative levels in the maritime plain, which speedily gives a new course to the waters, even in the land which is not of the latest formation. The joint stream formed by the *Lydias* and *Axius* is still navigable into the lake, and probably up to *Pella*, as it was in ancient times. After having passed Cape Karasmák, which is exactly opposite to the outer extremity of Cape Karaburnú, the wind

[1] . . . . Ἐχείδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρης, καὶ ἐξίει παρὰ τὸ ἕλος τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ.—Herodot. l. 7, c. 124.

heads us a little, and we proceed more slowly than before, but in half an hour, at 6 o'clock Turkish, arrive at a second point, about midway between the Vistrítza and Vardhári, where numerous monóxyla belonging to Kulakiá are employed in catching shell-fish and octopódhia, while at no great distance from them some large squadrons of wild swans are floating lazily on the gently-swelling surface, and appear to enjoy the fine weather. To the right, the cliffs of Karaburnú extend for three or four miles in length. The cape seen from Saloníki is the westernmost point. This conspicuous promontory seems, from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who consulted some early Greek writers, to have been once the platform of a temple of Venus, said to have been founded by Æneias[1]. There cannot be a more beautiful situation for such a building. At 6.25 we are opposite the mouth of the Vardhári, which now joins the sea in a bay between the last cape which we passed and another called Kazík-burnú, which we pass at 6.51. It is not improbable that

CHAPTER XXXI.

MACEDONIA.

Comparative Geography of *Macedonia*—River Gallikó, *Echidorus*—Doirán, *Tauriana*—*Gallicum*—*Stobi*—*Stena* of the *Axius*—*Idomene*—*Invasion of Sitalces*—Mount *Cercine*—*Gortynia*—*Europus*—*Almopia*—*Emathia*—*Mædi*—*Amphaxia*—*Anthemus*—*Mygdonia*—*Crossæa*—Mount *Cissus*—*Bottiatæ*—*Chalcidenses*—*Apollonia* of *Chalcidice*—*Olynthus*—*Apollonia* of *Mygdonia*—*Lete*—*Pæonia*—Strúmitza, *Astræum*—Roman roads from *Stobi*—Velesá, *Bylazora*—*Almana*, *Desudaba*, *Mædica*—Ivorína, *Jamphorina*—Mount *Scomius*—*Dentheletæ*, *Bessi*—Istip, *Astapus*—Ghiustendíl, *Pautalia*—*Theranda*, *Ulpiana*—Towns on the *Mathis*—Skópia, *Scupi*—Edict of *Amphipolis* after the conquest by *Paullus*—Limits of the *four regions*—Coins of the *Tetrarchy*.

Having been prevented by the occurrence of hostilities between England and the Porte from prosecuting my travels in Macedonia, I can here only offer a few remarks on the comparative geography of those parts of that celebrated province of Greece which I have not visited, illustrated by such an imperfect delineation as oral information can supply.

I have already remarked, that between Saloníki and the Vardhári a river called Gallikó crosses the road. This is evidently the Echidorus of Herodotus, and as in the Tabular Itinerary, Gallicum is the name of a place situated 16 M. P. from

Thessalonica, on the Roman road to Stobi [1]; it would seem that in this, as in some other instances which might be mentioned, the ancient name of the river had fallen into disuse, and had been replaced by that of a town which stood upon its banks. Hence also we perceive that the road to Stobi followed the valley of the *Echidorus*, and not that of the *Axius*. Next to Gallicum on this route occurred *Tauriana*, to which the modern Doghirán, or Doïrán, corresponds so nearly in name that we can hardly doubt of the identity, the more so as the road thither from Saloníki led in the direction of the course of the Gallikó. Nor is the distance of Doïrán from Saloníki very different from the 33 M. P. which the Table places between Thessalonica and Tauriana. Doïrán has been described to me as a town situated on a small lake which discharges itself into another lake, and that into the *Axius*. Kilkítj being nearly midway from Saloníki to Doïrán, seems to occupy the site of *Gallicum*.

Stobi, upon which the road was directed as being a Roman colony and municipium [2], and

city near it, in memory of a victory over those troublesome neighbours, and which he proposed to call Perseis, in honour of his son. At the Roman conquest, Stobi was made the place of deposit of salt for the supply of the Dardani, the monopoly of which was given to the third Macedonia[1]. Some vestiges probably still exist to prove its exact site, although I have not been able to obtain any account of them. According to the Tabular Itinerary, it stood 47 M. P. from Heracleia of Lyncus, which was in the Via Egnatia, and 55 M. P. from Tauriana; and as the sum of the Tabular distances from Heracleia to Stobi, and from Stobi to *Serdica*, now Sófia, is not greater than the real distance from the site of *Heracleia* near Filúrina to Sófia, we may infer that Stobi was in the direct road from Heracleia to Serdica. Hence its position appears to have been on the *Erigon*, ten or twelve miles above the junction of that river with the *Axius*, a situation which agrees with Livy, inasmuch as he describes Stobi as a town of Pæonia, in the district Deuriopus, which was watered by the Erigon. Strabo, indeed, who names three towns of Deuriopus, and adds that they were all situated on the Erigon, has not noticed Stobi[2], but possibly he may have considered the lower part of that river as in Pelagonia, for the respective confines of these districts were very uncertain, especially after the Roman conquest.

[1] Liv. l. 33, c. 19; l. 39, c. 53; l. 45, c. 29.

[2] Strabo, p. 327.

On the road in the Tabular Itinerary from Tauriana to Stobi occur the following distances and names:—20 M. P. Idomene, 12 M. P. Stena, 11 M. P. Antigoneia, 12 M. P. Stobi[1]; where the Stena or Straits are evidently the pass now called Demírkapi, or Iron gate, where the river Vardhári is closely bordered by perpendicular rocks, which in one place have been excavated for the road. *Idomene* consequently stood on the Vardhári, 12 Roman miles below the Demírkapi, and probably on the right bank, as it is included by Ptolemy in Emathia, a province bounded eastward by the *Axius*, which river may be supposed to have formed in remote times a protection to the Emathian towns from the barbarians of Pæonia and Thrace. These evidences as to the situation of Idomene, although not yet confirmed by the discovery of any ancient remains, already furnish a valuable illustration of Thucydides, whose narrative of the invasion of Macedonia by the Thracians, under Sitalces king of the Odrysæ, in the third year of the Peloponnesian war[2], contains some incidental remarks on the geography of Macedonia, which are among

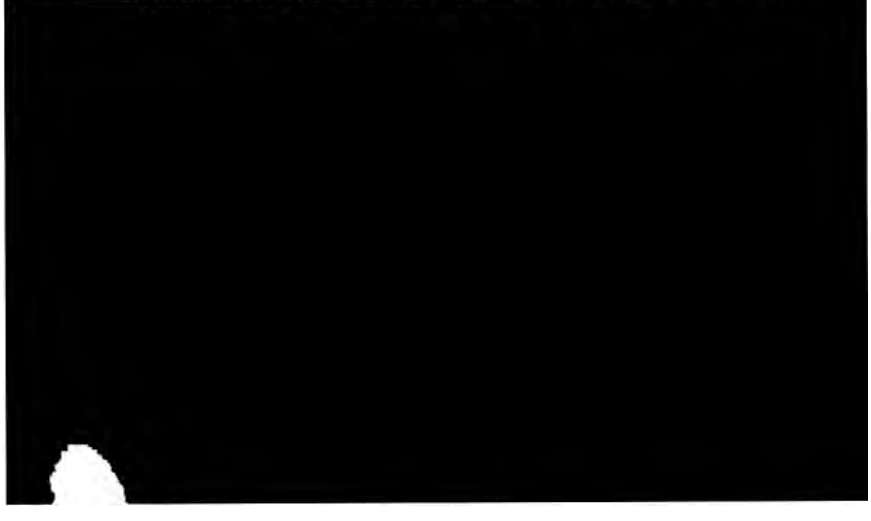
several subject cities on the Thracian coast, the king was accompanied by Agnon of Athens, as well as by a pretender to the Macedonian throne, in the person of Amyntas, a nephew of Perdiccas the reigning monarch. As the authority of Sitalces extended from the shores of the Euxine and Propontis to the frontiers of Macedonia, where even the Pæonian tribes to the left of the Strymon were subject to him, he was enabled to enter Macedonia with no less than a hundred and fifty thousand men, one third of whom were cavalry. His route from Thrace into Macedonia crossed Mount Cercine, leaving the Pæones on his right, the Sinti and Mædi on his left, and descended upon the Axius at Idomene; from thence he moved by Gortynia, Atalanta, and Europus, into the maritime plain, but instead of proceeding to Cyrrhus and Pella, he turned to the left and ravaged Mygdonia, Crestonia, and Anthemus, without entering Bottiæa, still less Pieria, both of which were *within* Cyrrhus and Pella [1].

From a previous knowledge of the relative situations of Sintice, Idomene, and Pella, it may confidently be inferred, that the Thracians invaded *Macedonia* from the plain of Serrés, then considered a part of Thrace, and that crossing the mountains which close that plain to the westward, and separate it from the valley of the *Axius*, they

[1] ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίαν προὐχώρει τὴν ἐν ἀριστερῇ Πέλλης καὶ Κύρρου· ἔσω δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Βοττιαίαν καὶ Πιερίαν οὐκ ἀφίκοντο.—c. 100.

entered the latter not far below the straits of Demírkapi passing near Doïrán. Hence the mountains at the extremity of the *Sirrhæan* plain are identified with *Cercine*, and *Doberus* appears to have been not far from Doïrán. This is in some measure confirmed by Hierocles, who names Dioborus next to Idomene among the towns of the Consular Macedonia under the Byzantine empire [1]. From Idomene the Thracians evidently descended the valley of the *Axius*, until arriving in the great maritime plain, a little to the eastward of *Pella*, they turned from thence to the left towards Saloníki.

As Gortynia and Europus, which occurred between Idomene and the plains of Cyrrhus and Pella, are placed by Ptolemy together with Idomene in Emathia, it is probable that like Idomene they stood on the right bank of the Axius below that city. Not far above the entrance of the great maritime plain, the site of Europus may perhaps hereafter be recognized by that strength of position which enabled it to resist the invaders. We have the concurring testimony of Ptolemy and Pliny



infer that it was the chief town of the ancient district Almopia. As Almopia was one of the earliest acquisitions of the Temenidæ [1], it was evidently contiguous to the original seat of the Macedonian monarchy about Berrhœa and Edessa. The other districts were Pieria on the south, Bottiæa on the east, and Eordæa on the west. Almopia, therefore, was on the north; being the same country now called Móglena, which borders immediately upon the ancient capital of Mącedonia to the N.E. And this accords sufficiently with the intimation given by Thucydides, that the next conquests of the kings were in Anthemus, Crestonia, and Bisaltia: that is to say, after having obtained all the country to the right of the Axius, they crossed that river, and increased their dominions as far as the Pæones and Sinti; though they were still excluded from the greater part of the sea coast by the Greek colonies of Pieria and Mygdonia, and those which occupied the whole of the Chalcidic peninsula. Homer, whose writings are long anterior to the Argive colony of the Temenidæ [2], alludes only to two provinces beyond the Greek

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 99.

[2] There is nothing to impeach the general truth of the early history of Macedonia, though that of its kings before Amyntas I. is obscure. Alexander, son of Amyntas, who reigned at the Persian invasion made out his Greek genealogy to the satisfaction of the judges at the Olympic games, when appearing there as a competitor for the prize. —Herodot. l. 5, c. 22. Justin. l. 7, c. 2.—But the origin of the name Macedonia it seems impossible to ascertain, amidst conflicting testimony of almost equal weight.—Herodot. l. 1, c. 56; l. 8, c. 43.—Hesiod Hellanicus et Clidemus ap. Constant. Porph. Them. 2.

cities of Thessaly; lying between them and Pæonia and Thrace—namely, Pieria and Emathia[1]. By the first he probably intended the country between the Peneius and Haliacmon, or as Hesiod describes Pieria, around Mount Olympus[2]; by the latter that beautiful region beyond the latter river, and on the eastern side of the *Olympene* ridge, which protected on all sides by mountains or marshes, at a secure but not inconvenient distance from the sea, gifted with three magnificent positions for cities or fortresses in Vérria, Niáusta, and Vodhená, blessed with every variety of elevation and aspect, of mountain, wood, fertile plain, running water, and lake, was admirably adapted to be the nursery of the giant monarchy of Macedonia, where its wealth and power might thrive, and increase, until the time came for the augmentation of its territory on every side.

I have already observed that Niáusta, the middle of the three towns just alluded to, stands probably on the site of the ancient Citium, a very remarkable name, as, like the Citium of Cyprus,

at the head of the Thermaic Gulf for a colony, which could not venture to establish itself in a maritime site. It appears from Justin, that a portion of Emathia was occupied by the Bryges [1], who were expelled from thence by the Temenidæ; and Herodotus, in stating that the gardens of Midas, who was their king, were situated at the foot of Mount Bermium [2], seems to show that their situation was around Berrhœa.

It is not surprising that Emathia in later times should have had more extensive boundaries than those which Homer may have understood, or that Ptolemy should have advanced its limits to the right bank of the Axius. Polybius, indeed, and Livy, his transcriber in this place, assert, contrary to the tendency of Homer's notice of Emathia and Pæonia, that Emathia was formerly called Pæonia [3]; but this may be reconciled by supposing that Emathia, before its colonization, was inhabited by the Pæonian race; whereas Pieria, the other province mentioned by Homer, is acknowledged to have been occupied by a Thracian people before its conquest by the Temenidæ, whence Orpheus was called a Thracian, and Pydna and Methone in Pieria were described as Greek colonies on the coast of Thrace.

It is not easy to reconcile the situation of the Mædi, as indicated in the passage of Thucydides descriptive of the march of Sitalces, with other testimonies as to that people. They there appear to have dwelt, together with the Sinti, to the left

[1] The same people as the Phryges of Asia. The initial B in the place of Φ was a Macedonian τύπος.

[2] Herodot. l. 8, c. 138.

[3] Polyb. l. 24, c. 8.—Liv. l. 40, c. 3.

of the route of the Thracians over Mount Cercine into Macedonia; whereas, according to other authors, as will be seen more fully hereafter, the Mædi occupied the country at the sources of the *Axius* and *Margus* (now Vardhári and Moráva) as well in the reign of Philip, son of Demetrius, as under the Roman emperors; nor does any author but Thucydides notice any Mædi near Lower Macedonia. Possibly they had become extinct in the course of the two centuries intervening between the reigns of Perdiccas and Philip, or had migrated to Mount Scomius, like the Pieres to Mount Pangæum, and the Bottiæi into the Chalcidic peninsula. It is clear, at least, that the Mædi could not have occupied any great extent of territory to the south of the route of Sitalces; for in the country which is bounded northward by that line, southward by the ridge of Mount Khortiátzi, eastward by the *Strymonic* plain, and westward by that of the *Axius*, and which is a space not more than equal to a square of forty geographical miles the side, we have to place *Mygdonia*, *Crestonia*, *Anthemus* and *Bisaltia*.

probably the boundary of Mygdonia towards Bisaltia, which latter extended to the Sintice northward, and eastward to the Strymon, on the right bank of which it included Euporia [1].

The maritime part of Mygdonia formed a district called Amphaxitis, a chorographical distinction first occurring in Polybius, who seems to divide all the great plain at the head of the Thermaic Gulf into Amphaxitis and Bottiæa [2], and which is found three centuries later in Ptolemy [3]. The Amphaxii coined their own money; but as no mention of a town of Amphaxia occurs in history, and the silence of Ptolemy is adverse to the supposition, those coins were probably struck at Thessalonica [4].

[1] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.

[2] Polyb. l. 5, c. 98.

[3] Ptolemy introduces Amphaxitis twice among the subdivisions of Macedonia, in one instance placing under that name the mouths of the Echidorus and Axius, with Thessalonica as the only town, which accords generally with Polybius, and particularly with Strabo, who says, ὁ Ἄξιος διαιρῶν τήν τε Βοττιαίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀμφαξῖτιν γῆν. In the other place, Ptolemy includes Stageira and Arethusa in Amphaxitis, which if it were correct, would indicate that a portion of Amphaxitis, very distant from the Axius, was separated from the remainder by a part of Mygdonia, for Ptolemy himself names Apollonia among the towns of Mygdonia, which we know to have been exactly interposed between Thessalonica and Arethusa. But it is not probable that any places so far from the Axius as Arethusa and Stageira were ever considered in the Amphaxitis; the word is perhaps a textual error

[4] Mr. Millingen has lately published a silver tetradrachm, inscribed Μακεδόνων Ἀμφαξίων, exactly resembling some other coins of the Macedonians, after the fall of the monarchy.

[illegible]

was a place near Thessalonica [1], and Philerus and Strepsa appear to have occupied inland situations in the same part of the country [2].

The Crossæa, Crusæa, or Crusis, was sometimes considered a portion of Mygdonia [3], but is distinguished from it by Herodotus, who describes the Crossæa as comprehending all the maritime country on the Thermaic Gulf, from Potidæa to the bay of Therma, where Mygdonia commenced [4]. The cities of Crossæa were Lipaxus, Combreia, Lisæa, Gigonus, Campsa, Smila, and Æneia. Of these, Gigonus and Æneia alone are noticed by later writers: of Æneia, coins are still extant with a type referring to the reputed foundation of the city by Æneias after the Trojan war [5]. The situations both of Æneia and Gigonus may be presumed from their having been situated near two capes [6], and from there being no promontories worthy of

[1] Theagen. ap. Stephan. in Ἀλτός.

[2] Plin. l. 4, c. 10.—Æschin. de fals. legat.—Stephan. in Στρέψα.

[3] Strabo ap. Stephan. in Κρουσίς.—Dionysius of Halicarnassus (l. 1, c. 49) names the inhabitants Κρουσαῖοι.

[4] ἐς αὐτόν τε τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον . . . . καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην.—Herodot. l. 7, c. 123.

[5] Lycophr. v. 1236, et Schol.—Liv. l. 40, c. 4.—Dionys. Hal. ubi sup.—Virg. Æn. l. 3, v. 16.—Stephan. in Αἰνεία.—Scylax in Μακεδονία.

[6] Scymn. Ch. v. 627.—Dionys. Hal. ubi sup.

Ὃς (Æneias sc.) πρῶτα μὲν Ῥαίκηλον οἰκήσει μολὼν
Κίσσου παρ' αἰπὺν πρῶνα . . . .
Lycophr. v. 1236.

Sch. Ῥαίκηλος Μακεδόνων πόλις· Κίσσος δὲ ὄρος Μακεδονίας, ἔνθα ὁ Αἰνείας μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Τροίας ᾤκησε καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Αἶνον προσαγόρευσεν.—The Scholiast appears to

notice on this coast, except the little Karaburnú, the great Karaburnú, and the cape of Apanomí, the first of which is so near to Thessalonica, and so inconsiderable compared with the great Karaburnú, that it can hardly enter into the question. Of the two others, the great Karaburnú being about 10 G. M. in direct distance from Thessalonica, seems to be sufficiently identified by this circumstance with the Cape Æneium of Scymnus, as we learn from Livy, that the town of Æneia was fifteen Roman miles from Thessalonica [1]. He adds, indeed, that it was opposite to Pydna, which, if it were correct, would imply an error in the distance just stated, as the two conditions are incompatible, and would lead us to place *Æneia* and Cape *Æneium* at Apanomí, which is nearly opposite to the site of *Pydna*. It is evident, however, from the order of names in Herodotus, that Gigonus was the more southern of the two capes, and from another fact which occurs in history, that its situation was nearly that of Apanomí. We learn from Thucydides, that in the year before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, an Athenian force which had been employed against Perdiccas marched in three days from Berrhœa to Gigonus, from whence they proceeded against Potidæa [2]. *Gigonus*, therefore, was not more than an ordinary day's march from *Potidæa*, which can hardly be said of Karaburnú;

to have confounded Ænus of Thrace, and Æneia of Macedonia.

Γίγωνις, ἄκρα μεταξὺ Μακεδονίας καὶ Πελλήνης.—Etymol. Mag. in voce.—Ptolemy (l. 3, c. 13) notices the same cape, but under the name Egonis.

[1] Liv. l. 44, c. 10.

[2] Thucyd. l. 1. c. 61.

whereas, placing *Gigonus* at Apanomí, we have four days' march of about twenty miles each, the second to Saloníki, and the third to Apanomí. Stephanus also favours the more southerly situation of Gigonus by intimating that its territory confined upon that of Pallene[1], which was probably true in later times, when the intermediate places mentioned by Herodotus having fallen to decay, the maritime country was divided between Thessalonica, Æneia, Gigonus, and Cassandreia. Still, however, I am inclined to defer to Livy's words *adversus Pydnam*, so far as to look for *Æneia* on the southern rather than the eastern side of Cape Karaburnú, the former better answering moreover to the same author's 15 M. P. from Thessalonica.

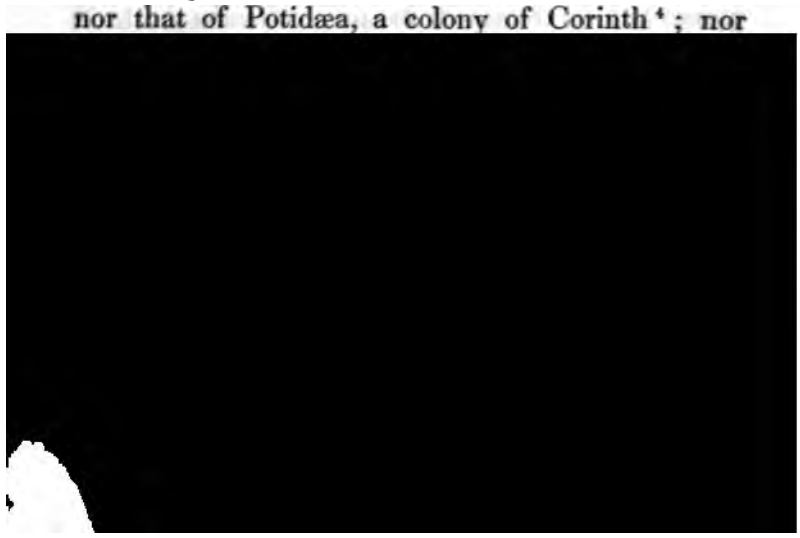
In illustration of the great number of towns which in the time of Herodotus occupied Pallene and Crossæa, it may be worthy of remark that this is now considered the most fertile and best cultivated part of *Macedonia*, and the advantage of the harbour of Apanomí, added to that of a rich surrounding territory, will equally account for that place having retained its pre-eminence both in ancient and modern times.

Cissus was a mountain (with a town of the same name) which a comparison of Xenophon and Lycophron seems to identify with Khortiátzi, the former by mentioning it among the mountains which produced beasts of prey, the latter by describing it as a lofty summit not far from Rhæcelus, which appears from Lycophron to have been the name

[1] Γίγωνος, πόλις Θράκης, προσεχὴς τῇ Παλλήνῃ.—Stephan. in voce.

of the promontory where Æneias founded his city [1]. I cannot learn, indeed, that the Frank merchants or consuls, many of whose country houses are on or near Mount Khortiátzi, or that the villages near it, are ever disturbed by the formidable inhabitants of Mount Cissus enumerated by Xenophon, such as the lion, ounce [2], lynx, panther, and bear; but Khortiátzi is the only high mountain within a moderate distance of the site of *Æneia* which we can conceive to have been the haunt of those animals. That the town *Cissus* was not far from Saloníki, seems evident from its having contributed, together with Æneia and Chalastra, to people Thessalonica [3].

Although it has been generally found convenient to apply the name *Chalcidice* to the whole of the great peninsula lying southward of the ridge of Mount Khortiátzi, in consequence of the influence which the Χαλκιδικὸν γένος, or people of Chalcidic race, enjoyed in that country in the meridian period of Greek history, the original Chalcidice did not comprehend Crusæa nor the districts of Acanthus and Stageirus, which were colonies of Andrus; nor that of Potidæa, a colony of Corinth [4]; nor



were in subsequent times written Βοττιαῖοι, and their country Βοττικὴ, to distinguish them from the Βοττεάται, or inhabitants of Βόττεια, or Βόττεα, a district and town to the westward of the Axius[1]. The principal possession of the Chalcidenses, in the earliest time of their migration, seems to have been the peninsula of Sithonia, and their port and fortress to have been Torone; from thence they extended their power inland, until at length they occupied all the part of *Mygdonia* to the southward of the ridges which stretch westward from Nízvoro, together with the *Crusæa*.

The Chalcidenses were indebted to the Persians for the acquisition of Olynthus. Artabazus, on his return from the Hellespont, whither he had escorted Xerxes after his defeat at Salamis, having reduced Olynthus together with some other places in this quarter which had revolted from his master, slew all the Bottiæi, who had garrisoned Olynthus, and gave up the place to the Chalcidenses[2]. The Bottiæi after this period seem to have been the humble allies of the Chalcidenses, with whom we find them joined on two occasions[3]. Spartolus, which

[1] Compare Thucyd. l. 1, c. 57, 65, l. 2, c. 79, 101, and Etymol. Mag. in Βόττεια, where Βοττικὴ, ἡ Χαλδαϊκὴ γῆ ought obviously to be Βοττικὴ ἡ Χαλκιδικὴ γῆ. That Βοττεάτης, the gentile of Βόττεια, belonged to the western Bottiæis is confirmed by the coins, inscribed Βοττεάτων, which resemble those of Pella. On the other hand, one of the silver coins, inscribed Βοττιαίων, is precisely similar both in type and fabric to those of the Chalcidenses, impressed with the head of Apollo and his lyre.

[2] *τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδοῖ Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένεϊ καὶ οὕτω Ὄλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.*—Herod. l. 8, c. 127.

[3] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 65; l. 2, c. 79.

was at no great distance from Olynthus[1] to the northward, belonged to them, and was perhaps their capital. Scolus, another town near Olynthus[2], was of sufficient importance to be mentioned, together with Spartolus, in the treaty between Sparta and Athens, in the tenth year of the Peloponnesian War[3]. Angeia[4] and Miacorus, or Milcorus[5], are two other names which may be assigned to the interior of Chalcidice.

Proof is wanting of there having been a town of Chalcis in any part of the country occupied by the colonists of Eubœa. Stephanus, who enumerates five cities of that name, is silent as to any such in the Thracian Chalcidice, and Eudoxus, whom he cites, merely describes Chalcis as the coast lying between Athos and Pallene[6]. Aristotle also, who knew Macedonia well, employs Chalcis or Chalcidice of Thrace, as the name of a district, not a town[7]. Nevertheless, it can scarcely be doubted that before the time when Olynthus became subject to the Chalcidenses, and at length obtained the supremacy over their other towns, there was a chief city of the Chalcidenses, where the most ancient

the head of Apollo on one side, and on the reverse his lyre with the legend Χαλκιδέων; for that these were the coins of the Thracian Chalcidenses, and not of the Eubœan, I can have no doubt, having found several of them in or near the country of the former people, and not one in any other part of Greece, while those of Chalcis in Eubœa bearing the eagle and serpent on one side, and a female head on the other, are everywhere extremely numerous. The coins of the Chalcidenses of Thrace were the produce perhaps of the mines of Sidherokápsa, to the possession of which the colony may have been in great measure indebted for its prosperity. The Acanthii may have derived the silver of their fine coins from the same source.

The name of the ancient capital of Chalcis I conceive to have been Apollonia, in conformity with that worship of Apollo which is recorded on the coins; for that there was an Apollonia of Chalcidice different from Apollonia of Mygdonia, is clearly shown by Athenæus and Xenophon: an author cited by the former remarks that two rivers flowed from Apollonia into the lagoon Bolyca, near Olynthus[1]; from the latter we learn that Apollonia was only ten or twelve miles from Olynthus[2]; whence

[1] Hegesandrus ap. Athen. l. 8, c. 3.

[2] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 5, c. 3. The circumstances related by Xenophon show that there is no numerical error in this distance: six hundred Olynthian cavalry ravaged the lands of the Apolloniatæ, and advanced about midday to the walls of Apollonia, when Derdas, prince of Elimeia, who happened to be in the city with his horsemen, suddenly issuing from the gates, put them to flight, and pursued them 90 stades, slaying many, until they were driven quite to the walls of Olynthus.

it is evident that the Apollonia intended by these two authors was on the southern side of the ridges which intersect the *Chalcidic* peninsula from east to west. Apollonia of Mygdonia, on the other hand, as the indubitable testimony of St. Luke and the Itineraries demonstrate, stood to the northward of the same mountains, on the direct road from Thessalonica to Amphipolis, by the pass of Arethusa[1]. In fact, the ruins of this *Apollonia* are still to be seen exactly in that line to the south of Pazarúdhi, at a place preserving the ancient name in a corrupted form, and nearly at the proportionate distance between Thessalonica and *Amphipolis* indicated by the Itineraries[2].

[1] Act. Apost. c. 17. v. 1.

Thessalonica — Melissurgin M. P. 20 Apollonia, M. P. 17 Amphipoli M. P. 30.—Anton. It. ed. Wessel. p. 320.

Thessalonica—Apollonia M. P. 30 Amphipoli M. P. 32.—Anton. It. p. 330.

Thessalonica 20 (M. P.) Melissurgi 18. Apollonia 30. Amphipoli. — Tab. Peuting. Segm. 5.

Civitas Amphipolim — Mutatio Pennana M. 10. Mutatio Peripidis (Arethusa) M. 10. Mansio Apollonia M. 11. Mutatio Heracleustibus M. 11. Mutatio Duodea M. 14. Civitas Thessalonica M. 13.—Itin. Hierosol. p. 605.

[2] Besides the Apolloniæ of Chalcis and Mygdonia, and a third in the peninsula of Acte, which I have before noticed, it appears from Pomponius Mela and the epitomizer of Strabo, that there was a fourth at no great distance. It was not so near, however, as might be supposed from those two writers, for the better authority of Livy (l. 38, c. 41) manifestly shows that they have incorrectly described it as having been situated westward of the Nestus, and that it was between Maronea and Abdera, or not less than 20 miles to the eastward of that river. Nor is the evidence of the Latin historian on this question without support, for Stephanus evidently alludes to the same Apollonia, when referring to its mention by Demosthenes he de-

The distance of the Chalcidic Apollonia from Olynthus, stated by Xenophon, and the circumstance of its not being in the direction of Acanthus, which his narrative also indicates, combine to place it at or near Políghero, which, like Apollonia of old, is now the chief town of the *Chalcidice*. Spartolus would seem from the transactions related by Thucydides not to have been so far from Olynthus as Apollonia was, which is somewhat confirmed by Isæus, who describes it as Spartolus of the Olysia [1], or territory of Olynthus. It was in consequence of the complaints of the Apollonians of Chalcidice and of the Acanthii, that the Lacedæmonians sent an army against Olynthus, which, after losing two of its commanders, succeeded in the fourth campaign, B.C. 379, in reducing the city to submission [2].

When Olynthus became a part of Chalcidice, it is not surprising that its maritime situation should have caused it gradually to eclipse the ancient capital. It was particularly after the Peloponnesian War, that it became one of the greatest cities in Greece, made successful war with Macedonia, took Pella from Amyntas [3], and was of such importance to the league which it headed, that when

scribes it as the "Apollonia of the Ionians of Thrace," (εἰκοστὴ δευτέρη, τῶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Ἰώνων, ἣν Δημοσθένης φησίν. — Stephan. in Ἀπολλωνία.) The Ionians of Thrace were so called because Abdera was a colony of Clazomenæ and Teus, and Maronea a colony of Chius, (Herodot. l. 1, c. 168. Scymn. ch. v. 665, 675).

[1] Isæi orat. ubi supra.

[2] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 5, c. 3.

[3] ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης μεγίστη πόλις Ὄλυνθος.—Xen. Hellen. l. 5, c. 2.

Ὄλυνθος πόλις μυριάνδρος. —Diodor. excerpt. Ex. l. 32.

reduced by Philip, it was followed in its submission by thirty-two other towns[1].

Nor can there be any difficulty in conceiving, that when Chalcidice had been between three and four centuries subject to Rome, the received chorography of the country should have been different from that which prevailed in the time of its freedom. Ptolemy appears to have divided the whole peninsula into two parts, Chalcidice and Paralia; for thus I read the word which in all the printed copies of his works is Paraxia[2]. Paralia contained all the maritime country between the bay of Thessalonica and Derrhis the Cape of Sithonia: thus the western coast of Sithonia was at that time included in Paralia, and the eastern in Chalcidice, together with Acanthus, the entire peninsula of Acte, and all the maritime country adjacent to the Strymonic Gulf, as far north as Bromiscus, with the exception of Stageira.

Livy mentions an Antigoneia of Crusis between Æneia and Pallene[3]: it was perhaps one of the towns of that coast noticed by Herodotus, which had been repaired by one of the Antigoni. By Ptolemy it is surnamed Psaphara, probably in order to distinguish it by this adjunct from another Macedonian Antigoneia on the road from the Stena of the Axius to Stobi. As Chætæ and Moryllus are placed by Ptolemy together with

[1] Demosth. Philip. 3.—Mr. Millingen has lately engraved a coin of the Chalcidences of Thrace, on which the letters ΟΛΥΝΘ surround the head of Apollo, and the word ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ his lyre.

[2] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.

[3] Liv. l. 44, c. 10.

Antigoneia Psaphara in Paralia, and their names do not occur in the periplus of the fleet of Xerxes, they were places perhaps in the bay of Thessalonica, between the city and Cape *Æneium*, or Karaburnú. Ptolemy has not noticed either this cape or the city Æneia.

On the road from Thessalonica to Apollonia of Mygdonia, a Melissurgi occurs in two of the Itineraries: this place still preserves its ancient name in the usual Romaic form of Melissurgús, and is inhabited by honey-makers, as the word implies. It was 20 or 21 M. P. from Thessalonica. The third, or Jerusalem Itinerary, seems to have followed a different line from *Apollonia* to Thessalonica, leaving probably the summit of Khortiátzi to the right, whereas the two others seem to have passed on the opposite side of it. But both roads evidently crossed that mountain, the Romans having seldom allowed such an obstacle to divert them from their direction. The modern barbarians, on the contrary, have found a circuit by the pass of Khaivát, which avoids the ridge entirely, more convenient for the caravan route to Constantinople; and in consequence of this change, they follow the northern shore of the lakes, instead of the heights on the southern side of them, which was the direction of the ancient road. These routes reunite in the pass of *Arethusa*, now called that of Besíkia, and by the Turks the Rumilí Bóghazi, as being one of the most important defiles on this great line of communication.

In the list of Greek bishoprics as arranged by the emperor Leo the philosopher, Lete, conjointly with

Réndina, was the see of a bishop subordinate to the metropolitan of Thessalonica, and styled ὁ Λήτης καὶ Ῥεντίνης. Réndina having been at or near the pass of Besíkia, it would seem that *Lete* was not far from thence, which agrees with the intimations derived from the ancients as to the position of Lete, the lake of Besíkia having been in *Mygdonia*[1], and Lete being named by Ptolemy next to Apollonia of Mygdonia[2]. On the other hand, it seems difficult to find a place for *Lete* in the *Mygdonian* valley, if Stephanus is right in asserting the existence of a town Bolbe, since in that case this valley seems sufficiently occupied by *Bolbe*, *Apollonia*, and *Anthemus*. Possibly Mávrovo may be the site of *Lete*, or Sokhó, if we place *Ossa* at Lakhaná.

I shall now offer a few remarks on Pæonia, a geographical denomination, which prior to the Argolic colonization of Emathia, appears to have comprehended the entire country afterwards called Macedonia, with the exception of that portion of it which was considered a part of Thrace. As the Macedonian kingdom increased, Pæonia was curtailed of its dimensions on every side, though the name still continued to be applied in a general sense to the great belt of interior country which covered Upper and Lower Macedonia to the N. and N. E., and a portion of which was a monarchy nominally independent of Macedonia until fifty years after the death of Alexander the Great.

The banks of the Axius seem to have been the

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 58. [2] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.

centre of the Pæonian power, from the time when Pyræchmes and Asteropæus led the Pæonians to the assistance of Priam [1], down to the latest existence of the monarchy. When the Temenidæ had acquired Emathia, Almopia, Crestonia, and Mygdonia, the kings of Pæonia still continued to rule over the country beyond the straits of the Axius, until Philip, son of Amyntas, twice reduced them to terms, and they were at length subdued by Alexander [2], after which they were probably submissive to the Macedonian sovereigns [3]. The coins of Audoleon, who reigned at that time, and who adopted after the death of Alexander the common types of that prince and his successors [4], prove the civilization of Pæonia under its kings. Diodorus informs us that Cassander assisted Audoleon against the Autariatæ, an Illyrian people, and that having conquered them, he transported 20,000 men, women, and children, to Mount Orbelus [5], whence we may infer that regal Pæonia lay between the Autariatæ and Mount Orbelus.

[1] Il. B. v. 848, Φ. v. 154. —V. et Thucyd. l. 2, c. 99.

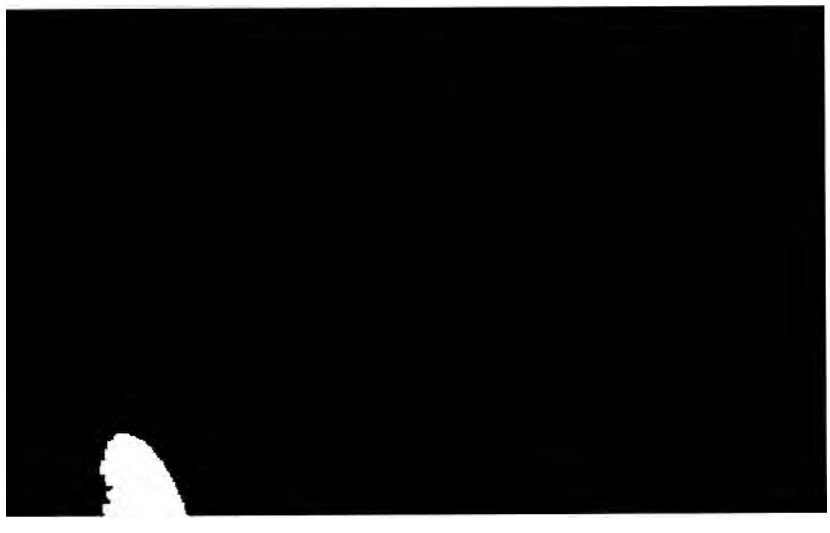
[2] Diodor. l. 19, c. 2. 4. 22; l. 17, c. 8.

[3] An inscribed marble recently discovered in the acropolis of Athens records an interchange of good offices between the Athenians and Audoleon in the archonship of Diotimus, B. C. 354, or a few years after the succession of Philip, son of Amyntas, and Audoleon, to their respective thrones, and two years after Philip is stated by Diodorus to have reduced the king of Pæonia to submission. If this Audoleon was the same as the cotemporary of Cassander, he reigned at least fifty years.

[4] The head of Alexander in the character of young Hercules, and on the obverse, the figure of Jupiter Aëtophorus.

[5] Diodor. l. 20, c. 19.

From a comparison of Appian and Strabo, as well as from an incident in the life of Alexander the Great, to which I before adverted [1], it is evident that the Autariatæ bordered to the eastward upon the Agrianes and Bessi, to the south upon the Mædi and Dardani, and in the other directions on the Ardiæi and Scordisci. Upon the whole, therefore, it is consistent with history and the general chorography of the countries to the northward of Macedonia, to conclude that regal Pæonia comprehended all the central and most fertile part of the more extended Pæonia, and that it was situated above the straits of the *Axius*, occupying all the countries on the upper branches of that river, with the exception of those districts towards the sources of the *Erigon*, which had been united with Upper Macedonia. Bylazora, although described by Polybius as the chief city of Pæonia, was not the capital of the kingdom, perhaps on account of the inconvenience of its proximity to the Dardani. The royal residence, as we learn from Polyænus, was situated on the river Astycus [2], evidently the



Vrávnitza, or river of Istíb, which, next to the *Erigon*, is the greatest of the tributaries of the *Axius*.

Of the tribes on the Thracian frontier of Pæonia which were subject to Macedonia, as early at least as the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas, I have already shown reasons for believing that the Odomanti occupied the whole of Mount *Orbelus* from above the *Stena* of the *Strymon* near the modern Demirissár to Zikhna inclusive, where they confined on Mount *Pangæum*. Thus their north-western portion lay to the right of Sitalces as he crossed Mount Cercine: and their general situation accords with the description of Thucydides, according to whom they dwelt beyond the Strymon to the north [1]; that is to say, to the northward of the Lower Strymon, where alone the river has such an easterly course as can justify the historian's expression. It is observable, that the Panæi, whom Thucydides couples with the Odomanti, are stated by Stephanus to have been a tribe of the Edones [2]. These authorities agree, therefore, in confirming the situation of the Odomanti just indicated.

Between Meleníko and Petrítzi, above Demirissár and the *Strymonic* straits, the main branch of the Struma, or *Strymon*, is joined by a large tributary named Strúmitza, upon which stands a town of the same name, situated a day's journey beyond Petrítzi, in the road from Serrés to Velesá. Strú-

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 101; l. 5, c. 6.

[2] Stephan. in Παναῖοι.

mitza I am disposed to identify with the ancient Astræum, to which Philip sent his son Demetrius, when he gave directions for his death to Didas, governor of Pæonia [1], though it was not there that Didas executed his orders, but at Heracleia (Sintica) having invited Demetrius thither on the occasion of a festival during which poison was administered to the prince. Didas, in return for his services, was favoured by Perseus when he came to the throne; and hence we find Didas, at the beginning of the Persic war, commanding a body of 3000 men, who consisted of Pæones, Paroræi, Parstrymonii, and Agrianes [2]. The Pæonian monarchy was then extinct, and its territory, with the exception probably of a part occupied by the Dardani, had been united to the Macedonian kingdom; from which fact, and the names of the people who were governed by Didas, it seems evident that the Pæonian province, at that period of the Macedonian monarchy, comprehended the valleys of the Upper Strymon and Upper Axius, with the intermediate mountains, and including the country of the Agrianes, who dwelt near the sources of the Strymon [3]. Astræum seems to have been a central position in this country, and the provincial seat of government. The site of Strúmitza was well adapted to be the chief fortress of such hardy tribes: its strength is particularly attested by Nicephorus Gregoras, when he was sent in A. D. 1326 to Skópia

[1] Liv. l. 40, c. 24.
[2] Liv. l. 42, c. 51.
[3] Strabon. (Epit. l. 7) p. 331.

on a mission to the Kral of Servia from the Emperor Andronicus the elder: he relates, that after having travelled half a night and one day from a ferry of the Strymon, he arrived at Strúmitza, a fortress so lofty that the men on the walls looked from the plain like birds [1].

Ptolemy, in assigning to the Æstræi Doberus as well as Æstræum, shows those two places to have been at no great distance from one another; which is true, on the supposition that *Æstræum* or *Astræum*, was at Strúmitza, and *Doberus* near Doghirán [2]. Strymon, Struma, Astræus, and Strúmitza, seem to be all dialectic modifications of

[1] Nicephor. Greg. l. 8, c. 14. Gregoras had been preceptor of the children of Metochita, for which reason he was chosen by the Emperor for a mission, one of the objects of which was to persuade the widow of John Palæologus, who was the Kral's mother-in-law and the daughter of Metochita, to return to Constantinople. Gregoras was accompanied by one of the lady's brothers. Of his journey as far as the Strymon he relates only that the country was at that moment deserted in consequence of an expected invasion of Scythians. And it seems in general to have been nearly in its present state. At the Strymon, for instance, he found only a single ferry-boat, which required the greater part of the day to carry over his 150 beasts of burthen. His place of crossing was probably near Demirissár, for had it been lower he could not have reached Strúmitza at the end of the next day. The timidity and inexperience of the pedagogue magnified the alarms and difficulties which he met with in prosecuting his journey during the greater part of the night through the forest beyond the Strymon, and which afforded him an opportunity of showing his learning by comparing the darkness to the caverns of Tænarus and Trophonius.

[2] Stephanus in Ἀστραῖα

some original word of Macedonia, meaning river. The name *Astræus*, as I have already remarked, was applied to the lower part of the *Haliacmon*, and Vistrítza seems to be nothing more than the corruption, or modern Bulgaric form of *Astræus*. The town of Strúmitza, therefore, as well as its predecessor Astræum, I conceive to have taken its name from the river on which it stood, as being the position of greatest importance upon that great branch of the *Strymon*, and the natural capital of its valley. The name implies the lesser *Strymon*.

In the north-western part of Pæonia, the principal place under the Romans, as I before hinted, was Stobi. From this point four roads are drawn in the Tabular Itinerary [1] One proceeded north-west to Scupi, and from thence north to Naissus, a position on the great south-eastern route from Viminacium on the Danube to Byzantium,—the second north-eastward to Serdica 100 M. P. south-east of Naissus, on the same route [2],—the third

south-eastward to Thessalonica, and the fourth south-westward to *Heracleia;* the last forming a communication with that central point on the Via Egnatia, or great Roman road from Apollonia to Thessalonica, leading through Stobi from all the places on the three former routes.

In the valleys which are watered by the confluents of the Upper *Axius*, and which were traversed by the two roads branching northward from *Stobi*, there are three considerable towns, of which the modern names sufficiently resemble the ancient, to lead at once to a presumption of identity. These are Skópia, Velesá, and Istíp. In regard to the first there can be no question, as the name which in Ptolemy and Hierocles is Σκοῦποι, is still found in the same form in the history of Nicephorus Bryennius at the beginning of the twelfth century, though Skópia, the present Greek form, is used by Anna Comnena at an earlier period, and at a later by Nicephorus Gregoras, who has exactly described Skópia as situated on the banks of the Axius, which was then, as it is now, called Βαρδάριον[1]. It may be objected, perhaps, that the number of M. P. between this place and Stobi is much greater in the Table than the real distance from Skópia to the supposed site of *Stobi;* but as the Table often fails in the accuracy of its numbers, particularly in excess; and as there can be no doubt as to Scupi, we are fully authorized in this instance in preferring to that authority the

[1] Nicephor. Greg. l. 8, c. 14, l. 3, c. 2.

evidence derived from the agreement of the supposed site of *Stobi* with all the other requisites derived from ancient testimony.

The identity of Velesá, or Velessó[1], with *Bylazora*, besides the similarity of sound in modern Greek pronunciation, is supported by the circumstantial evidence of history. Advantageously placed on the Upper Axius, in the midst of the fertile country watered by that river and its branches, and on the edge of the mountains which here separated Pæonia from Illyria, Bylazora was well qualified by situation to become "the greatest city of Pæonia," while the situation of Velesá exactly illustrates the further remark of Polybius, that Bylazora was near the passes leading from the Dardanice into Macedonia[2]; that is to say, through Pæonia, for which reason it was taken and fortified by Philip, son of Demetrius, as a barrier against the Dardani, previously to his descent into Greece in the last year of the Social War. As the Pæonian power was then extinct, it was probably from the Dardani that Philip took the city, and it may have been upon the ground of their temporary possession of the western part of Pæonia that the Dardani, on the division of Macedonia into four regions at the Roman conquest, claimed Pæonia of the Senate of Rome, as having formerly belonged to them[3].

[1] Βελεσὰ, Βελεσσός.

[2] Βυλάζωρα, *μεγίστην οὖσαν πόλιν τῆς Παιωνίας καὶ λίαν εὐκαίρως κειμένην πρὸς τὰς εἰσβολὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Δαρδανικῆς εἰς Μακεδονίαν.*—Polyb. l. 5, c. 97.

[3] Liv. l. 45, c. 39.

It may be thought, perhaps, an objection to this position of Bylazora, that the name is not found in the Tabular Itinerary on the road from *Stobi* to *Scupi*, although Velesá lies exactly in that line: I am inclined to believe that it does occur under the very corrupted form of Anausara.

Bylazora is again mentioned in the history of that eventful year, B.C. 168, when Perseus, not long before the battle of Pydna, endeavoured to obtain the mercenary services of 20,000 Gauls, who in the expectation of being employed by him, had advanced in equal numbers of horse and foot as far as Desudaba in Mædica. Perseus with the view of drawing them into Macedonia, moved with half his army from the river Enipeus in Pieria to Almana on the Axius, which was 75 miles distant from Desudaba. Having ordered supplies to be in readiness on the intended route of the Gauls, he sent a messenger to Desudaba, requiring the Gallic army to advance to Bylazora, and inviting their chiefs to visit him at Almana, where he gave them to understand by the messenger that he had prepared some rich presents for them, by these means hoping to obtain the services of the Gauls without farther expence. But they were not a people to be so duped: they refused to move beyond Desudaba until they should receive the stipulated present of ten pieces of gold for each horseman, five for each foot soldier, and 1000 for each chief, and such an advance of treasure being more than the avaricious monarch could consent to advance, the Gauls returned to the Danube,

ravaging the parts of Thrace through which they passed [1].

As Perseus had left a most formidable enemy in Perrhæbia and Pieria on this occasion, we cannot suppose that he advanced farther up the Axius than was absolutely necessary. Almana, therefore, was probably below the straits of Demírkapi, between the *Stena* and *Idomene*, and Desudaba having been 75 M.P. distant from thence, on the direct route to the Danube by the valley of the *Margus*, will fall at or near Kumánovo, on one of the confluents of the Upper *Axius*. This indeed is nearly the greatest southern extent that can be given to Mædica towards Pæonia and the respective situations of *Desudaba*, *Bylazora* and *Almana*, as just indicated, will then perfectly agree with the circumstances stated by the historian, and the more so as Perseus had undertaken to furnish the Gauls with provisions, and as Bylazora, the intermediate station, was in the middle of the most fertile part of Pæonia. Mædica thus placed accords also with the remark of Strabo, that the Mædi bordered eastward on the Thunatæ of Dardania [2], for the *Dardani* extended to Skópia,

[1] Liv. l. 44, c. 27. If the *aurei* here mentioned were the *regale numisma Philippi*, one can hardly wonder at the hesitation of Perseus, for the amount of this marching money alone, would have been almost equal in weight, without considering the relative value, to a quarter of a million of sovereigns. But Livy thought that the fate of Perseus depended upon it, and that if the Gauls had marched into Thessaly, there would have been no escape for the Romans.

[2] Strabo, p. 316.

and the *Thunatæ* therefore we may suppose to have been a tribe of the *Dardani*, possessing the modern Katzaníki. If the southern boundary of the *Mædi* was near Kumánovo that people must have possessed the sources of the eastern branch of the Moráva, or *Margus*, and its upper valleys, in one of which Vraniá, or Ivorína, has very much the sound of *Jamphorina*, the capital of the *Mædi*, which was taken by Philip, son of Demetrius, in the year B. C. 211. On this occasion the king, whose design it was by previous intimidation to keep his troublesome neighbours quiet, while he should be employed in Greece against the Ætolians, had first assaulted Oricus and Apollonia, from whence he marched into Pelagonia, took a city of the Dardani[1], which had facilitated the entrance of that people into Macedonia on the side of Pelagonia, and then passed through Pelagonia, Lyncus, and Bottiæa, into Thessaly[2]. The situation of the Mædi is farther illustrated by the fruitless excursion of the same king of Macedonia to the summit of Mount Hæmus in the vain expectation of beholding from thence at once the Adriatic and Black Sea, the Danube and the Alps. He arrived at the foot of the mountain in seven days from Stobi, passing through the country of the Mædi; after a laborious ascent of three days, and a

[1] The name of this city may perhaps have been mentioned by Polybius, from whom Livy borrowed his narrative, and may have been lost either by the Latin historian or his transcribers. It stood probably to the northward of Stobi or Stymbara, a country yet unexplored by modern travellers.

[2] Liv. l. 26, c. 25,

descent on his return of two, he rejoined his camp in Mædica[1]; thence made an incursion into the country of the Dentheletæ for the sake of provision, re-entered that of the Mædi, where he received the momentary submission of a place named Petra, and from thence returned into Macedonia. It seems evident from the number of days' march, that the mountain visited by Philip, and named Hæmus by the historian, could have been no other than that which by two of the best authorities is denominated Scomius, or Scombrus[2], being that cluster of great summits between Ghiustendíl and Sófia, which sends tributaries to all the great rivers of the northern part of European Turkey; for this, in fact is the most central point of the continent, and nearly equidistant from the Euxine, the Ægæan, the Adriatic, and the Danube. The Dentheletæ would seem from the circumstance mentioned by the historian to have bordered on the Mædi towards the south-east. Hæmus itself was chiefly occupied by the Bessi[3], who from their fastnesses defied the power of Rome until the reign of Augustus[4], and according to Pliny extended

Astibon, the third of the ancient towns of Pæonia, the names of which still subsist in a corrupted form, was on the road from *Stobi* to *Serdica*. It is now by the Turks called Istíb, and stands exactly on that line, at a distance from each of those ancient sites which, as well as our present imperfect geographical materials admit of judging, sufficiently corresponds with the numbers in the Table. It occupies probably the site of the capital of the kings of Pæonia, which appears from Polyænus to have been situated on a river named Astycus [1]. The modern Djustendíl or Ghiustendíl equally accords with the *Pautalia* of the Table, and the situation of Ghiustendíl at the sources of the *Strymon* is remarkably in accordance with the figure of a river god, accompanied by the legend Στρύμων on some of the autonomous coins of *Pautalia*, as well as with the letters ΕΝΠΑΙΩ, which on other coins show that the Pautaliotæ considered themselves to be Pæonians, like the other inhabitants of the banks of that river. On another coin of Pautalia the productions of its territory are alluded to, namely, gold, silver, wine, and corn [2], which accords with Ghiustendíl. In the reign of Hadrian, the people both

[1] So incorrect are the generality of the names in the Table, that Astibon is liable to suspicion. If the town and river bore the same name, as seems likely, it was perhaps neither Astycus nor Astibon, but Astapus, for Astapus was applied by the Macedonian Greeks to one of the branches of the Nile, while Astaboras and Astasobas, names equally of Macedonic formation, were attached to two other tributaries of the same great river.

[2] Eckhel. num. vet. vol. ii. p. 38.

of Pautalia and the neighbouring Serdica added Ulpia to the name of their town, probably in consequence of some benefit received from that emperor. This title in the case of Pautalia would seem at first sight to warrant the supposition, that it was the same place as Ulpiana, which, according to Procopius, was rebuilt by Justinian, with the name of Justiniana Secunda[1], and the modern name Ghiustendíl lends an appearance of confirmation to this hypothesis by its resemblance to *Justiniana*. But there is an insurmountable objection to this hypothesis. Both Procopius and Hierocles notice Ulpiana and Pautalia as distinct places, to which we may add, that Ptolemy as well as Hierocles ascribes Ulpiana to Dardania, which seems never to have extended far to the eastward of *Scupi*, or Skópia. A further argument against the identity arises from a comparison of the Tabular Itinerary with a passage in Jornandes, who relates that Theodemir being at Naissus, sent a body of troops, under his son Theodoric, through Castrum Herculis to Ulpiana[2], where Castrum Herculis is evidently the same as the Ad Hercu-

From a place named Hammeno, which was in that road, at an uncertain distance from Scupi, but evidently in a N.W. direction, and probably not very far from it, there was a branch to the westward leading to *Lissus*, now Lesh, near the mouth of the *Drilon*. Of the ancient places on this route, *Theranda* bears some similitude in sound to the modern Prisrénd, though it must be admitted that the proportion of distances on the route, even without any addition for the interval between Scupi and Hammeno, would place *Theranda* farther westward. As *Ulpiana* does not occur either on this road nor on that from *Scupi* to *Naissus*, it lay probably between them in the country to the northward of Prisrénd, which is watered by the western branch of the Moráva, perhaps at the modern Prístina. Beyond *Theranda* the route to *Lissus* seems to have fallen into the valley of the *Mathis*, where I should be disposed to look for *Gabuleus*, *Crevenia*, and the other names in the route of the Table; for on the more direct line occurred the "solitudes of Scordus," which mountain being described incidentally by Livy as lying in the way from Stymbara to Scodra, and again as giving rise to the Oriuns which flowed through the lake Labeatis to Scodra[1], seems clearly to have comprehended the great summits on either side of the *Drilon*, where its course is from east to west.

The important position of Scupi at the *débouché* from the Illyrian mountains into the plains of Pæonia and the Upper Axius, caused it in all

[1] Liv. l. 43, c. 20; l. 44, c. 31.

ages to be the frontier town of Illyria towards Macedonia. There is no evidence of its ever having been possessed by the kings of Macedonia or of Pæonia. Under the Romans it was ascribed to Dardania, as well in the time of Ptolemy [1], as in the fifth century, when it was the capital of ducal Dardania [2]. The position "ad fines," which in the Tabular Itinerary stands at 35 M. P. beyond Anausara (Bylazora) on the road from Scupi to Stobi, would seem to indicate that the Romans had there fixed the boundaries of Dardania and Macedonia, and consequently that they had given Bylazora to Dardania, thus yielding in part to the demand which the Dardani had made, on the establishment of the tetrarchy of Macedonia after the conquest by Æmilius.

Scupi was probably seldom under the complete authority of Constantinople. In the reign of Michæl Palæologus it was wrested from the Emperor by the Servians, and became the residence of the Kral [3]. Here Nicephorus Gregoras met the court of the ἄρχων τῶν Τριβάλλων, as he learnedly denominates the Kral, whose successor

(Serrés [1]), Meleníko, Strúmitza, and Kastoría, and retaining Sérvia (the town), Berrhœa, Edessa [2], Gynæcocastrum [3], Mygdonia, and the towns on the Strymon, as far as the district of Serrés and the mountains of Tandessáno [4]. It may be not unworthy of remark, that in the histories of Anna Comnena, Gregoras, and Cantacuzenus [5], several other existing names occur, as:—on the Illyrian frontiers, Dibra (Δεύρη), Velessó (Βελεσσός), Príllapo (Πρίλλαπος), Moráva (Μοράβα), and Prístino (Πρίστηνος), which last Cantacuzenus describes as a small town without walls (κώμη ἀτείχιστος):—towards Thessaly, Sérvia (Σέρβια), Kastrí (Καστρίον) [6], Lykostómi (Λυκοστόμιον), and Platamóna (Πλαταμῶν πόλις παραθαλασσία):—to the eastward, Réndina (Ῥέντινα) and Dhrama (Δράμα), besides Zikhna (Ζίχνα) and Meleníko (Μελενίκος);—and near Edessa and Berrhœa, 'Ostrovo (Ὄστροβος), Nótia (Νότια), and Staridhola (Σταρίδολα), with some others which might probably be found by

[1] Cantacuzenus, contrary to all other writers, always gives this place the name of Φεραί; but in fact, Siris, Sirræ, Serræ, and Pheræ, as well as Berœa, seem to be merely dialectic variations of the same name.

[2] Anna Comnena, an older author, uses the modern name Vodhená.

[3] Γυναικόκαστρον, Turc. Avrethissár.

[4] τὰ ὄρη τοῦ Ταντεσσάνου καλούμενα: apparently the great mountain on the northern side of the plain of Serrés, the ancient Orbelus.

[5] See Anna Comnena, l. 5, 6, 12. Niceph. Gregor. ubi sup. Cantacuz. l. 1, 3, 4, but particularly l. 3.

[6] This is so common a name, that the Kastrí alluded to cannot easily be identified. It may either have been the Kastrí near Túrnavo, or that to the S. W. of Aghiá.

a diligent search. Soskós (Σωσκὸς) appears from Anna Comnena to have been between the lake of 'Ostrovo and Sérvia [1].

I shall here subjoin, as containing a compendious view of Macedonian geography, the edict for the division of Macedonia into four regions, issued by the authority of the Roman Senate B. C. 167, the year after the conquest [2]. It was read at Amphipolis to the assembled Macedonians by L. Æmilius Paullus, and then explained to them in Greek by Cn. Octavius the prætor:—

Unam fore et primam partem quod agri inter Strymonem et Nestum amnem sit: accessurum huic parti trans Nestum ad orientem versum qua Perseus tenuisset vicos, castella, oppida, præter Ænum et Maroneam et Abdera: trans Strymonem autem vergentia ad occasum, Bisalticam omnem cum Heraclea quam Sinticen adpellant. Secundam fore regionem, quam ab ortu Strymo amplecteretur amnis præter Sinticen Heracleam et Bisaltas; ab occasu qua Axius terminaret fluvius, additis Pæonibus qui prope Axium flumen ad regionem orientis colerent. Tertia pars facta, quam

Boram montem, una parte confinis Illyrico, altera Epiro. Capita, regionum ubi concilia fierent, primæ regionis Amphipolim, secundæ Thessalonicen, tertiæ Pellam, quartæ Pelagoniam fecit. Eo concilia suæ cujusque regionis indici, pecuniam conferri, ibi magistratus creari jussit * * * *. Regionibus quæ adfines barbaris essent (exceptâ enim tertiâ omnes erant) permisit ut præsidia armata in finibus extremis haberent.

By this celebrated decree the Macedonians were called free, each city was to govern itself by magistrates annually chosen, and the Romans were to receive half the amount of tribute formerly paid to the kings, the distribution and collection of which was probably the principal business of the councils of the four regions; for none but the people of the extreme frontiers towards the barbarians were allowed to defend themselves by arms, so that the military power was entirely Roman. In order to break up more effectually the national union, no person was allowed to contract marriage, or to purchase land or buildings, but within his own region. They were permitted to smelt copper and iron on paying half the tax which the kings had received; but the Romans reserved to themselves the right of working the mines of gold and silver, and of felling naval timber, as well as the importation of salt, which, as the Third Region only was to have the right of selling it to the Dardani, was probably made for the profit of the conquerors on the shore of the Thermaic Gulf. No wonder that the Macedonians compared this division of their country and interruption of the mutual intercourse

between the several parts of it to the laceration and disjointing of an animal body[1], or that they should have been ready to join a few years afterwards in the revolt of Andriscus[2]. The historian then remarks:—

Pars prima Bisaltas habet fortissimos viros (trans Nestum amnem incolunt et circa Strymonem) et multas frugum proprietates et metalla et opportunitatem Amphipolis, quæ objecta claudit omnes ab oriente sole in Macedoniam aditus. Secunda pars celeberrimas urbes, Thessalonicam et Cassandriam habet; ad hoc Pallenen fertilem et frugiferam terram: maritimas quoque opportunitates ei præbent portus ad Toronen ac montem Atho (Æneæ vocant hunc) alii ad insulam Eubœam, alii ad Hellespontum opportune versi. Tertia regio nobiles urbes Edessam et Berœam et Pellam habet et Vettiorum bellicosam gentem: incolas quoque permultos Gallos et Illyrios impigros cultores. Quartam regionem Eordæi et Lyncestæ et Pelagones incolunt: juncta his Atintania et Stymphalis et Elimiotis; frigida hæc omnis duraque cultu et aspera plaga est; cultorum quoque ingenia terræ similia habet; ferociores eos et adcolæ barbari faciunt, nunc bello exercentes nunc in pace miscentes ritus suos.

After all that has been offered on the situation of the districts and places here mentioned, scarcely any explanation is necessary beyond a reference

[1] Regionatim commerciis interruptis, ita videri lacerata, tanquam animalia in artus.—Liv. l. 45, c. 30.

[2] Liv. Epit. l. 49.

to the Map at the end of this volume. Macedonia Prima comprehended all the former possessions of Perseus in Thrace to the eastward of the Nestus, with the exception of the three principal maritime cities between that river and the Chersonese; and it contained all the country between the Nestus and Strymon probably as far as the sources of those rivers, together with Sintice and Bisaltia, to the right of the Strymon. Amphipolis, the capital of this region, is justly described as the great defence of Macedonia from the eastward; and we have an illustration of the allusion made by the historian to the mines of Mount Pangæum, which Amphipolis commanded, in the numerous existing silver coins of the time of the tetrarchy bearing the head of the Amphipolitan deity Diana Tauropolus[1], with an obverse representing the club of Hercules within a garland of oak, and the legend Μακεδόνων πρώτης: these coins were evidently struck at Amphipolis.

The second Macedonia comprehended all the country between the Strymon and Axius, except the Sintice and Bisaltia, and extended as far towards the sources of both rivers as the boundary of the Macedonian kingdom had reached. The eastern turn of the *Strymon* below Serrés shows at once why the Sintice and Bisaltia were excepted from the countries between the Strymon and Axius,

[1] Amphipolim . . . . in templum Dianæ quam Tauropolon vocant . . . .—Liv. l. 44, c. 44.

The types of the coins of Amphipolis often refer to this deity, whence it would seem that the temple of Minerva, alluded to by Thucydides as standing on the acropolis of Amphipolis, was not the principal temple of the Amphipolitæ.

and placed in the first instead of the second Macedonia. The second region was the richest and most populous of the four, no part of Macedonia being comparable in fertility and other advantages to Mygdonia, Chalcidice, and the three contiguous peninsulas, where the historian especially notices the productive Pallene, and the convenient havens of Torone and Athos. The name Æneia, which Livy attaches to the harbour of Athos, is not found I believe in any other author, nor is it certain to which of the ports of Acte it applies.

The third region is very clearly described as bounded by the sea, by the Axius, and by the Peneius, on three sides—as containing the cities Pella, Edessa, and Berrhœa, and as extending northward to Mount Bora, where its limits were such that it was the only one of the three provinces not in contact with the Barbarians, the nearest of whom were the Dardani. Hence Mount *Bora*, which is not noticed by any other author, appears to have been the summit northward of Vodhená, now called Nitje, one of the chief links in the *Olympene* or eastern chain, of which the others are Bermius, Pierus, Olympus, Ossa, and Pelium. This great ridge terminates in a northerly direction at the fork of the *Erigon* and *Axius*. Here, therefore, the Third Region terminated, and thus Pæonia was interposed between the northern extremity of the Third Region and the Illyrians. The Pæonians to the westward of the Axius, were an exception to the definition otherwise given of the extent of the Third Region, as they lay beyond Mount Bora to the N.W.; and hence the parti-

cular mention of the Pæonians in the edict, which refers undoubtedly, like History at this period in general, not to the original Pæonia in its fullest extent, but to the limited portion of it which had formed a monarchy, until, about a century before the Roman conquest, it was incorporated with Macedonia. The portion of Pæonia separated from the rest of that country, and attributed to the Third Macedonia, while the remainder of it was attached to the Second, was situated on the lower Erigon around Stobi, and this city was decreed to be the place of deposit for the salt, sold to the Dardani, the monopoly of which was given to the Third Macedonia.

To the fourth division remained every thing beyond the district of Stobi to the west and southwest, as well as all the country beyond the crest of the *Olympene* range, as far as Illyria and Epirus. The historian enumerates the following districts as composing it: namely, Pelagonia, Lyncestis, Eordæa, Elimiotis, and Atintania, where he has obviously omitted Orestis, which lay between Atintania and the rest of Upper Macedonia. Thus it appears that the *Fourth Macedonia* extended nearly to Berát and Tepeléni, and included Kónitza. To the southward its limits were nearly those of the modern districts of Grevená and Tríkkala, where *Upper Macedonia* confined upon *Upper Thessaly* [1].

The warlike nation of the Vettii, mentioned together with Pella, Edessa, and Berrhœa, as forming

[1] Strabo, p. 430. 437.

part of the third region, are evidently the Bottiæi, and this allusion to them, showing that they were still of some importance, accords with the apparent date of their coins. The Chalcidic Bottiatæ had probably been long extinct. Numismatic evidence, therefore, concurs with Polybius and Strabo, in showing that the great maritime plains after the Roman conquest were divided between the Bottiæi and Amphaxii. The chief place of the latter, as we learn from Ptolemy, was Thessalonica, that of the former probably Alorus. The strength of the "bellicosa gens" of Bottiæa was derived from the intersection of rivers and marshes, natural defences which have maintained in the same position some unmixed Greeks to the present day in the midst of surrounding Bulgarians and Turks.

There exists a silver tetradrachm with the legend Μακεδόνων δευτέρας, coined probably at Thessalonica, of which city no money bearing its name has been found more ancient than the Roman empire. The silver of the mines of Nízvoro may have supplied the coinage of the *Second Macedonia*. No silver money of the Third and Fourth Macedonia has been discovered, nor is it known that either of those regions possessed mines. The only other coin bearing an allusion to the tetrarchy, besides those I have mentioned, is a small one in bronze, so rare that I met with only one. It is inscribed M. τετάρτης, and presents on one side the Dioscuri on horseback, on the other the head of Minerva. But there is another coin of the Fourth Macedonia in the Cæsarian Museum, bearing a head of Jupiter, and on the obverse the common

Macedonian type of a club within a garland of oak, with the legend Μακεδόνων τετάρτης. We are to infer from Livy that these were struck at Pelagonia.

The rarity of all the money of the Macedonian tetrarchy, except that which was coined at Amphipolis, is to be attributed to the shortness of its duration. Only 18 years after the edict of Amphipolis, Andriscus, calling himself Philip, son of Perseus, reconquered all Macedonia [1], but was defeated and taken in the following year, by Q. Cæcilius Metellus, after which the Macedonians were made tributary [2], and the country was probably governed by a prætor, like Achaia after the destruction of Corinth, which occurred two years afterwards, B.C. 146. From that time to the reign of Augustus, the Romans had the troublesome duty of defending Macedonia against the people of Illyria and Thrace, and during that time they established colonies at Philippi, Pella, Stobi, and Dium.

[1] Totam Macedoniam aut voluntate incolentium aut armis occupavit.—Liv. Epit. l. 49.

[2] Porphyr. ap. Euseb. p. 178.

CHAPTER XXXII.

FOURTH JOURNEY.

EPIRUS, ACARNANIA, ÆTOLIA.

Prévyza—Aios Petros, *Anactorium*—Vónitza—Ruga—Nisí—Balímbey—Lutráki—Katúna—Hellenic city—Makhalá—*Expedition of Agesilaus into Acarnania*—Skortús—Lygovítzi—Pródhromo—Agriculture and productions of *Acarnania*—Forest of Mánina—Podholovítza—Guriá—Hellenic ruin called Paleá Mani—Return to Guriá—Mastú—Anatolikó—Mesolónghi.

PREVYZA, March 1809.—Since my visit to this place in 1805, the Porte having found that very little accrued to it from Prévyza and the other ex-Venetian places, after paying the expences of

them over to a man whom he cannot control, and who has already treated them with every kind of vexation. Prévyza has been the principal sufferer. Its alliance with the French when the place was taken by assault in 1798, furnished the Vezír with an excuse for extortion and cruelty, which has lasted ever since, and the population is now reduced to less than half its number at that period. In 1807, when the war broke out between Russia and the Porte, the Prevyzans were obliged to labour at an entrenchment across the peninsula near two miles in length, to construct which the Pashá sent for men from all parts of his territory, as far as Katerína beyond Mount *Olympus*, and gave them nothing but a ration of koromána, or black bread. In this light soil, with few palisades to support it, this entrenchment is already falling to ruin. Afterwards his new fortress and serái were constructed in the same manner, by an angariá or compulsory labour.

Since his bargain with the Porte, Alý considers himself absolved from the necessity of keeping any measures with the Prévyzans, giving away their land to his Albanians, sending whole families to people new tjiftlíks in unhealthy situations, and quartering his soldiers upon those whom he has allowed to remain. But notwithstanding the forced labour, which has given him materials as well as construction at little cost, Prévyza has been very expensive to the Vezír: Albanian soldiers must be paid, the fortress armed, and the palace furnished from his own pocket, and the maritime situation has required the aid of some small vessels, which

could only be obtained by purchase. Parga, moreover, though he has paid for it, he has not much prospect of obtaining. Nevertheless, his bargain is an excellent one, on account of the military importance of the places, and the facilities which they give him in making further acquisitions in Tzamuriá.

The only part of the ancient *privileges* of Prévyza now remaining, is its system of taxation. The present revenue of the Crown is as follows:—

	PIASTRES.
Livária (fisheries)	22,000
Dhekatía (tithe of produce of land)	10,000
Dogána (custom-house) . . .	15,000
Monopoly of bread	2000
——— of tobacco	5000
——— of butchers' meat . .	3000
——— of rakí (brandy) . .	6000
——— of playing cards . .	500
——— of τὸ πέραμα (the ferry to Punta) . . .	1500
——— of sealing tanned leather	800
——— of gunpowder . . .	1000
——— of statíri, the public weighing . . .	800
——— of the retail of oil . .	1200
τὸ Νόμιστρον, a capitation tax upon cattle fed in the pastures of Prévyza	600
Total	69,400

All the articles are farmed except the dogana, which is collected by a person named by the Vezír. Under the Venetians the same practice obtained, and the different heads of revenue were sold by auction every six years. The amount was then about 18,000 or 20,000 piastres a year. The increase has been chiefly owing to the debasement of the coin, and to the great increase of late years in the produce of the fisheries. For the same reason, the livári of Vutzintró, which, united with some other branches of revenue, produced, in 1805, only fifty-five purses, is now alone let to the same συντροφία, of which the bishop of Ioánnina is the head, for eighty purses.

The revenue of Vónitza consists of the same articles, and amounts in value to 20,000 piastres a year. That of Parga to 10,000. So that deducting the latter, the Vezír has given 800 purses for a life annuity of 200 at the age of sixty, and having as good a prospect of keeping his head upon his shoulders as any man in his station in Turkey.

The excavations which have been made at *Nicopolis* for the purpose of obtaining materials for the fortress and palace of the Vezír at Prévyza, have not led to any interesting discoveries, partly it seems because the city having been hastily built, more in the Roman than Greek manner, little more was found than fragments of walls formed of tiles, mortar, and broken stones, unfit for the purpose of the masons, and which did not much encourage them to persevere. By order of the Vezír, the sculptured pieces were set apart, but the only

result has been two inscriptions, which have been placed at the gate of the Serái. One of these [1] is a dedication to Augustus by the Mallotæ, or people of Mallus, a great maritime city of Cilicia; the other [2], which from the form of the letters seems to be of a later period of the Empire, was in honour of a prætorian præfect of Macedonia, who was tribune of the first legion surnamed the Minervia Pia Fidelis, procurator of the corn of Epirus, procurator of the province of Pontus and Bithynia, and procurator of the dismissions of the Emperor [3]. The monument was raised agreeably to a decree of the council (of Nicopolis) by Mnester, a freedman of the Emperor, in token of his gratitude to the præfect, of whom he was the assistant [4]. Several of the letters in the inscription require to be supplied, particularly in the præfect's name, which seems to have been Lucius Ofellius Maius.

March 15.—At 3 P. M. we make sail for Vónitza in a large sakkoléva belonging to the Vezír, which has a covered deck and cabin, and is rigged with two high latine sails and a small sail aft. A fresh maestrále soon carries us past Punta; and along the side of a woody plain, on the southern shore of

[1] Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεοῦ υἱῷ Σεβαστῷ Μαλλῶται.—V. Inscription, No. 159.

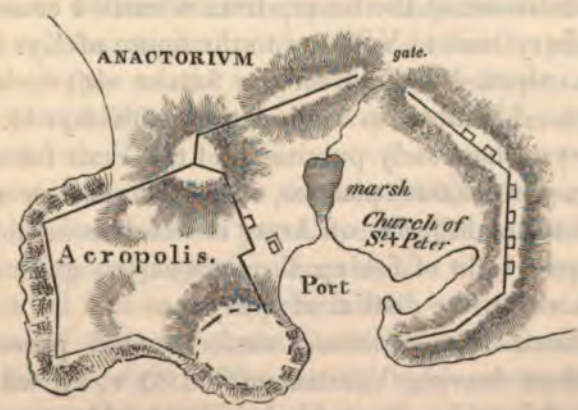
[2] Λουκίῳ Ὀφελλίῳ Μαΐῳ, Μακεδονίας ἐπάρχῳ, ἐνὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πραιτωρίας, χιλιάρχῳ λεγεῶνος ᾱ Μινερβίας, εὐσεβοῦς, πιστῆς, ἐπιτρόπῳ σίτου Ἠπείρου, ἐπιτρόπῳ ἐπαρχίας Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας, ἐπιτρόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολυσέων Σεβαστοῦ, Μνηστὴρ Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος βοηθὸς αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην.—V. Inscription, No. 160.

[3] Procurator a dimissionibus imperatoris.

[4] Adjutor.

the Gulf of Prévyza, beyond which towards the lake of Vulkaría are heights clothed with larger trees[1]. On the northern side of the gulf the coast is higher, and forms a peninsula in which is a hamlet of five or six houses, called Skafidháki, and below it a lagoon, communicating, by a small opening, with the sea, and having a fishery which belongs to Arta.

Having crossed the Gulf of Prévyza to its south-eastern extremity, I land at the ruins of *Anactorium*, for such I shall venture to denominate a circuit of Hellenic foundations, surrounding a rocky promontory between two bays, and following the crest of some heights which embrace a little plain on the shore of the smaller or southern bay, where a small church of 'Aios Petros gives name to the place. The distance of these ruins from Punta accords exactly with the forty stades placed by Strabo between Actium and Anactorium.



The circumference of the town was less than two

[1] See the route through this country in Vol. I. p. 173.

miles. In most parts foundations only are traceable; but to the southward there are remains of several towers: the interior wall of the acropolis in part subsists also, and between it and a marsh in the middle of the plain are some foundations, apparently those of the peribolus of a temple. From the vestiges of a gate at the eastern angle of the town, a walk of an hour across the heights which fall north-eastward to the commodious little harbour of St. Mark, leads me in a south-easterly direction to the liméni, or limni of Vónitza, from whence there are two roads to the town; that to the right by a stone causeway along the southern side of the limni, at the foot of a steep hill covered with brushwood, from the foot of which issues a body of water so large as to render the limni almost fresh. I follow the northern shore, passing for a mile through a wood of bramble, myrtle, mastic, dwarf oleaster, and ilex, to Myrtári, at the entrance of the limni, from whence I cross in the ferry-boat to Vónitza, to the house of Kyr K., with whom I lodged on my former visit to this

paleókastro called Ruga induces me to land. It is a Hellenic fortress, about half a mile in circumference, surrounded on three sides by a lake about 500 yards wide, beyond which are heights covered with thick woods. The lake communicates at its two extremities with the sea in seasons of rain, but at present is separated by a narrow beach. The walls are more or less preserved in the whole circuit; and in one or two places there are some foundations of rectangular towers of the ordinary kind. Near one of them a piece of wall, which is standing to the height of twelve feet, is a complete specimen of the second or polygonal kind of Greek masonry: the stones being of various shapes, accurately fitted to one another without cement, and none of them rectangular. On the summit of this wall are a few other masses which seem to show that the upper courses of the walls were of more regular masonry. Perhaps these, as well as the towers, were repairs or additions to the original work. The inclosed space, which is one of the very few ploughed spots on this woody shore, is not much above the level of the sea.

From Ruga we follow the coast, with a favourable breeze, and soon pass Cape Khalíki, which is a sandy point projecting from a low woody cape. The wind falls as we approach Nisí, and in consequence of the turn of the coast becomes contrary. So that it is eight in the evening before we anchor opposite to this tjiftlík of the Vezír, which is built in the usual manner of this part of the country;—that is to say, the dwellings inclose a quadrangle

into which all the doors and windows open; thus the outside presents only bare walls, and serves as a fortress against the robbers of Xerómero and Valtu. Whenever there is any suspicion of danger, the cattle and other stock are collected at night within the square, the only entrance into which is a large strong gate. Some boats of Kyr K. of Vónitza having been very successful in spearing in the bay of Nisí, we have a plentiful supper of fish, and keep out the cold with a large fire, though not without some inconvenience from smoke, as there is no chimney. My companions sleep upon a carpet by the fire; I spread my mattress in the further part of the cottage where is a raised floor made of a few planks.

The tjiftlik of Nisí possesses some cornfields among the veláni oaks which cover the heights between it and Cape Khalíki; in the other direction there is a marshy bottom, grown with ashes, oaks, and other trees, and frequented by wild hogs [1]. Those who hunt them say that the animal generally makes directly at the man who wounds him, and if the hunter is not very alert the boar

description of them are the red deer, the fallow deer, and roe.

March 17.—The wind being contrary for Lutráki, and the passage round the inner curve of the bay of Nisí being muddy for loaded horses, we cross the bay in boats, and ride up to Palím, or Balím Bey. This operation, as we have an escort of thirty Albanians besides our own baggage, takes us till 10.30. Palím-bey is another farm of the Vezír, having a few kalambókki and corn-fields and flocks belonging to it, in the midst of the woods. It differs only from Nisí in having a larger house, by way of a serái or pyrgo, and a garden of fine lemon and cypress trees attached to the house, with a few kalývia on the outside of the quadrangle. We had intended to pass the last night here had the wind been more favourable. The level which separates the farm from the sea is covered with large plane trees, together with some oaks, both common and veláni, wild pears, paliúria, and other shrubs. In the most marshy parts ashes are numerous; this tree, which is not very common in Greece, is generally called by its ancient name Meliá, but is here known by that of Fraxo, an abbreviation of the Latin Fraxinus. The hills behind the tjiftlík are clothed with oaks, velanidhiés, and pirnária; beyond them, three miles from Palím-bey, formerly stood Aghíus Saranda, and beyond it Tersová and Vustrí. Beyond a peaked snowy summit, 2 hours to the southward of the summit of the mountain of Pergandí, was the monastery Robó, reckoned 4 hours from Palím-bey. These and twenty other villages

or monasteries in this part of *Acarnania* are now deserted and ruined. On the western side of the mountains were Zavérdha, Sklávena, Rúnisi, Synódhi, and Bogoniá, formerly all large villages, but now reduced to insignificance, or totally deserted.

Having remained at Palím-bey until our Albanians have dined, we leave it at 12.20, and at 1 cross a stream shaded by large planes, and flowing from the southern side of the summit of the mountain of Várnaka. After passing over a root of the same hills, we proceed along the side of them until, at 1.20, they slope into the narrow harbour of Lutráki, where on its western side are a Dogána and Kula surrounded with a wall; from the head of the harbour we proceed through a narrow gorge, called Dhafniés[1], from the numerous bay trees which grow here, and which are mixed with bushes of Paliúri and wild Kharúb[2]; the hills on either side are covered with thick underwood. This is a strong pass, and like those of Amvrakía and Kekhreniá, may be considered one of the gates of *Acarnania*. At Lutráki, and

tain, through which leads the road to Amvrakía. Leaving this to the left, we mount the hills through ravines shaded with olives, and at 3.55 arrive at Katúna, at the house of Mr. George Mavromáti. Katúna is situated on a fertile range of hills, which are divided by an elevated valley from Mount Búmisto; on one side of this valley, beyond a hill, is the river which, taking its rise near Kombotí, joins the sea between Palím-bey and Lutráki. The heights of Katúna extend southward, with a little inclination to the east, for a distance of about 12 miles. This ridge consists of hard limestone, covered with a stratum of fertile soil, which feeds numerous sheep and oxen, and has some intervals cultivated with wheat and barley. These and the produce of the velanidhiés scattered in the woods, once supported a considerable population in the towns of Katúna and Makhalá, which are now mere villages, and in several subordinate places now abandoned. The *Ætolian* plains, though still cultivated to a considerable extent, and better peopled than *Acarnania*, have declined nearly in the same proportion, and among the Beys of Vrakhóri, some of whom formerly derived 3000*l.* a year from their landed property, not one has now a third of that income.

In Katúna there remain not more than forty inhabited houses; seventy were abandoned in the course of the last year, chiefly in consequence of the excessive expence attending the quartering of Albanians, who all pass through this dervéni in their way to or from *Ætolia*, or the south-western parts of *Acarnania*. This grievance has particu-

larly pressed upon them since the death of Yusúf Agá, the Validé Kiáyassy, when Alý obtained the Mukatá of Karlilí, and immediately sent his Albanians into the country. He is now making his first visit in person. His chief object is to substitute his own Albanians for the Greek armatolí, who under the command of their captains were in the service and pay of the villages. As soon as his intentions were known, many of the armatolí fled into the islands, and returned from thence as robbers. The individual among them whose enterprize and knowledge of the country renders him at present most formidable, is named Dhrako Griva [1], first cousin of the Kátziko-Iannis, two celebrated characters of the same stamp, whom the Vezír succeeded in destroying.

Griva began his career at an early age, like most of these heroes, by entering into a band of robbers, to whom he recommended himself by his activity, hardiness, and cruelty. It was his practice to tie every Musulman who fell into his hands, or any unfortunate Christian who had given him offence, to a tree, to be fired at by his followers as a mark. Having rendered himself the terror of the villages of Karlilí, and long defied the efforts of the Vezír as Dervént Agá, he was at length, at the Pashá's suggestion, taken into the service and pay of the district as captain of armatolí, to keep the country clear of thieves. He was afterwards disgraced by the same influence, and superseded by Kátziko Ianni, because he could not, or

[1] Dhrako is an addition to his real name, meaning any thing monstrous.

would not (as it is said), murder Mitjo[1] Mavromáti of Katúna for His Highness. Griva had then no other resource than to enter into the Russian service in the Islands, from which he passed into that of the French, and in both has succeeded in tormenting the Vezír by continual depredations on his territories[2]. Várnaka, a village once of 400 families, but now deserted, is at present the principal resort of the thieves. To the spoliation of the kleftes is to be added that of the Albanians sent against them; these, together with the similar effects of the collection of troops in 1807 against the Russians at Lefkádha, and of those now assembled to observe the French, have almost depopulated the entire country around Mount Búmisto, or between the *Ambracian* gulf and *Leucadian* sea.

The Vezír, when he halted here the day before yesterday, lodged at the house of the son of the very Mavromáti whom he had formerly put to death. Mitjo was a man of considerable property, and much beloved in *Acarnania*, where he long acted as agent of Kurt Pashá in the management of the armatolí and police of this province. His

[1] Μίτζος, familiariter, or χαϊδευτικὰ, as the modern Greeks say, for Δημήτριος.

[2] In October 1809, he became our prisoner at the capture of Zante, together with his comrades in the French service. The greater part of them entered into the Greek regiments which were then formed. Griva did not like the terms of service, which rendered him liable to be sent to any part of the Mediterranean, and preferred trusting to Alý, who accepted his offer of services, taking care to retain a part of his family as a pledge of his fidelity, and made him koledjí of Vónitza and Plaghiá.

friendship with Kurt was a crime in the eyes of Alý, which Mitjo's riches rendered unpardonable. Conscious of the injury he had done to the family, the Vezír ordered the house to be searched before he entered it, though when he announced to Mavromáti at Prévyza that he intended to lodge with him in passing through Katúna, he pretended never to have heard that his old friend Mitjo, as he called him, was dead. After dining at Katúna he went forward to Makhalá, accompanied by 1500 Albanians, whose pay is four months in arrear. Scarcely any chieftain but Alý could take such a liberty with these men, as there is nothing on which Albanians are so sensitive. In the meantime, τοὺς κυβερνάει, he quarters them on the places which he passes through, and thus they can live without pay, which they have no doubt of receiving in the end, that being a point in which Alý dares not deceive them.

March 18.—The view from Katúna, though confined by the mountains to the west and east, commands some distant objects through the openings to the north and south—namely, Mounts

how insecure the country is supposed to be beyond the range of the Albanian muskets.

Half a mile below the lowest houses of Katúna, a little on the left of the road to Makhalá, is the upper extremity of a Hellenic fortress which occupies the slope of the ridge of Katúna on its eastern side. The valley into which it descends is a continuation of that which we followed yesterday coming from Lutráki, being the same as that I described on the 18th of June, 1805, as included between the parallel ridges of Amvrakía and Katúna. The existing remains consist of foundations of regular masonry belonging to an acropolis which surrounded a theatre-shaped piece of ground at the head of a water-course: vestiges of the town walls are seen also on the descent towards the valley, and I am told there are others quite at the foot of the mountain. The city, therefore, was large as well as important by its position, which commanded the principal passage from *Epirus* through *Acarnania* into *Ætolia*. It is supposed by the learned of this part of the country to be *Conope*, because there is a small village, situated a few miles to the south-west, named Konopítza. *Conope*, however, was certainly beyond the *Achelous*, in *Ætolia;* and Konopítza no more indicates the position of *Conope* than Amvrakía does that of *Ambracia*.

Our road continues to follow the crest of the ridge over heights remarkable for their variety of form, and for many immense circular cavities, covered within with trees, and at the bottom of some of which are deep pools of water. The

trees are chiefly pirnária, and the rocks, as generally in this part of *Acarnania*, a hard yellow limestone, or marble, which is very handsome when polished. The heights are uncultivated, but produce a fine herbage, affording an excellent pasture for sheep. At 3 P. M., after having ridden 50 minutes from the Paleókastro, the monastery of Agrilió is a mile and a half to the left, on a point of land on the western side of the lake of Valto or Amvrakía, opposite to that part of the mountain of Kekhreniá which I descended on the way from that village to Amvrakía. The projection on which Agrilió stands, is an abrupt termination of the ridge beginning on the eastern side of Lutráki, and upon which stand the villages Sparto, Amvrakía, and Stanu. Below Agrilió is the narrowest and deepest part of the lake. In dry summers nothing remains but a circular pool in that part, all the rest being dry or muddy. It is the opinion at Katúna, that by means of a few canals of drainage, and at the expence of about 60 purses, all but the pool near Agrilió might be made capable of bearing maize or any other kind of grain in abundance. Some parts of the edges of the lake when dry are now cultivated in that manner, as I witnessed below Amvrakía on my former journey.

We now leave the few dispersed houses which form the village of Konopítza, or Konopína, two miles on the right, and at 3.35 pass through the ruins of the village of 'Anino, from whence came the family of that name which is now one of the principal in Cefalonia. On the opposite slope of

the mountain of Kekhreniá were formerly Alpítza and Makrí, from which latter came the Makrís of Zante. At 3.50 we halt for a quarter of an hour at a large well of ancient construction resembling another which I observed close to the walls of the Paleókastro of Katúna. Several others, all probably works of the ancient Greeks, are said to exist in this ridge, which is totally deficient in superficial sources. All the larger houses at Katúna and Makhalá are provided with cisterns for collecting rain water. At 4.45 we pass Papadhátes, or Papalátes, standing on the crest of the ridge, and now containing only a few cottages, and there arrive in sight of a valley to the westward, included on one side by the mountains which protrude from Búmisto towards Tragamésti, and on the other by the ridge which, trending westerly from that of Makhalá, borders the great plain of the *Achelous* to the north-west. In an opening between the two ranges the sea appears. On the opposite side of the valley, at the foot of the hills towards Tragamésti, are the villages of Babíni, Makherá, and Khrysovítzi, lying in that order from south-east to north-west. At 5.15 we arrive at the highest point of the ridge, where stands a ruined windmill, visible from Katúna, and which is a conspicuous object to all the surrounding country. Immediately below it begin the houses of the village of Makhalá, which are dispersed over a slope falling towards the plain of the *Achelous*.

It may be a question, whether the lake of Agrilió, or the marsh between Katúna and Lutráki, was the

scene of a transaction of the year B. C. 391, which is related by Xenophon[1]. The Achæans, who were in possession of Calydon, finding themselves greatly annoyed by the Acarnanians, who were assisted by some Athenians and Bœotians, craved the succour of the Lacedæmonians, who sent Agesilaus, with two moræ and some allies, to join the Achæans. Agesilaus, previously to entering the hostile territory, sent a message to Stratus, threatening to destroy the whole country unless the Acarnanians quitted their alliance and joined that of Sparta; but they disregarded his menaces, retired into their cities, and drove their cattle to a distant part of the country. Agesilaus then entered Acarnania, and destroyed every thing within his reach; but marched not more than ten or twelve stades each day, by which mode of proceeding, at the end of fourteen or fifteen days, he had thrown the Acarnanians so much off their guard, that many of them resumed their rural employments. He then made a sudden march of 160 stades in one day to a lake surrounded by mountains, where the greater part of the cattle of the Acarnanians was collected[2], and thus captured a great quantity of horses, oxen, and sheep, besides men, all which he sold the next day. In the evening he was attacked by the Acarnanians and forced to descend from his position on the heights, into a plain and meadow on the bank of the lake, from whence there was only

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 4, c. 6. *βοσκήματα τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων*

[2] *ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, περὶ ἣν τὰ σχεδὸν πάντα ἦν.*

a narrow and difficult outlet across the mountains [1]. By this pass Agesilaus attempted to retreat on the following day, but the Acarnanians had occupied the mountains on either side of it, from whence their light armed annoyed their opponents by missiles, easily escaping into shelter when pursued by the cavalry or hoplitæ. The Acarnanian hoplitæ, with the greater part of their peltastæ, were posted on the summit of the mountain to the left of the enemy's line of march; and this mountain happened to be the more accessible of the two to horsemen and hoplitæ. Agesilaus, therefore, after sacrificing, during which operation many of his troops were wounded, ordered an advance upon the height to his left. All the hoplitæ who had arrived at 15 years beyond the age of puberty ran forward, preceded by the cavalry, and followed by Agesilaus himself with the remainder of the forces. In this manner they reached, and slew or put to flight the Acarnanians on the declivity of the mountain, by whom they had been annoyed. Nor did those on the summit of the ridge wait for the encounter, though the peltastæ had slain some of the horsemen and horses of the enemy in the ascent. The loss of the Acarnanians on this day was about 300. Agesilaus then continued to ravage the country, and even presented himself at the request of the Achæans before some of the cities, but none sur-

[1] ἦν μὲν ἡ ἔξοδος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην λειμῶνός τε καὶ πεδίου στενὴ, διὰ τὰ κύκλῳ περιέχοντα ὄρη· καταλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, &c.

rendered to him; and as the autumn was advancing, he decided upon retiring from Acarnania, replying to the Achæans, who requested him to remain, so long at least as to prevent the Acarnanians from sowing their corn, that the more they sowed the more inclined they would be to peace. His retreat through Ætolia, adds the historian, was by passes through which it would have been impossible for any numbers to have found their way, had the Ætolians, who hoped for his assistance in the recovery of Naupactus, been desirous of preventing him[1].

Although the Valto, or lake of Agrilió, may seem better to deserve the description of a λίμνη in the present time of the year than that between Katúna and Lutráki, there is probably little difference in their dimensions in the season of the expedition of Agesilaus. Both are surrounded by mountains, that of Valto more closely; but for that reason it was less adapted to the assemblage of the Acarnanian cattle than the lake of Lutráki, which has at all times a greater extent of pasture around it. The latter had also the advantage of being farther removed from the frontier of *Ætolia*, whereas the southern extremity of the lake of Agrilió is not many miles from *Stratus* and the *Achelous*. The ravine therefore by which I ascended from the marsh of Lutráki to Katúna seems to have been the defile in which the Acarnanians opposed the Spartans. In this case the

[1] τοιαύτας ὁδοὺς, ἃς οὔτε πολλοὶ οὔτε ὀλίγοι ἐύναιντ' ἂν ἀκόντων Λἰτωλῶν πορεύεσθαι.

hill of Katúna itself was the position of the Acarnanian hoplitæ and peltastæ, which was taken by the bold charge of the Spartans. There is indeed another opening conducting from the marsh of Lutráki, which leads towards Amvrakía; but as this would have carried Agesilaus farther from the frontier, and would have obliged him to march along one side or the other of the lake of Agrilió, both difficult routes, and that to the westward defended by the fortified town near Katúna, it is not probable that he should have ventured into so hazardous a situation. It seems evident, moreover, that he retreated by the same route by which he had arrived, that is to say, into the plain of Aetós; for on this side of the ridge of Katúna lay the principal extent and the more fertile parts of *Acarnania*, through which he had made his fifteen marches, probably in various directions, as convenience or plunder prompted. The last day's march of 160 stades, by which he surprised the Acarnanians, would seem from the distance to have been begun from a position on the *Achelous*. It is almost unnecessary to point out how perfectly the geography of *Ætolia* justifies the remark of Xenophon, as to the difficulty which Agesilaus would have found in retreating through that country to *Calydon*, had the Ætolians been adverse to him, his only routes being along one side or other of the lake of Apókuro, or through the passes of Zygós, or if he entered the maritime plains from *Acarnania*, along the borders of the lagoons of Anatolikó and Mesolónghi.

March 19.—The ruined windmill behind Makhalá commands a magnificent prospect. As at Katúna, I recognize to the north Mount Olýtzika, near Ioánnina, and to the south-east the mountains Voidhiá and 'Olono, in the Moréa, to which are here added, the Sandameriótiko of *Elis* and the Mavra Vunà near *Dyme*. But the principal objects are the *Ætolian* plains, with their noble river and lakes, the positions of *Stratus*, *Thermus*, and *Conope*, the great summits called Arákhova and Viéna, and Mount Rígani, near *Naupactus*. In the midst of the basin which lies to the westward of the ridge of Makhalá, and which is surrounded on the other sides by Mount Búmisto, by the mountains towards the sea coast, and by that which slopes on the opposite side to the right bank of the *Achelous*, rises an insulated height, surrounded by Hellenic walls, on the western point of which stands a monastery, called Porta, properly ἡ Παναγία στὴν Πόρταν. In the lower part of the inclosure a ruined tower is conspicuous, having eight courses of regular masonry still standing, and on either side of it some walls of polygonal masonry.

winter and spring it suffers from cold, and in the end of the summer and autumn from the vicinity of the Valto of Agrilió and the effluvia of the mud which is continually stirred up by the wild hogs.

Makhalá, Katúna, Závitza, Tragamésti, Katokhí and Stamná, now reduced to inconsiderable villages, were all flourishing towns in the time of Kurt Pashá. Katúna was considered the richest and most polished. Many families have migrated from these places to the islands.

From Makhalá to Skortús takes us an hour and twenty minutes, with our Albanians on foot. At Skortús there are only two families left. The ruins of the village stand at the foot of a small height, surrounded with an ancient Greek wall, of which there remain in some places two or three courses of regular masonry. From hence I proceed to the summit of the hill of Lygovítzi, which rises immediately above Skortús, in search of some ruins which a woman of the latter place, probably for the sake of getting rid of us, described as a *μέγα κάστρον*, but where I find nothing, after an ascent through a thick wood of velanídhi oaks, and over difficult rocky paths, but the ruins of four or five churches among the trees, and on the summit some remains of a small castle, apparently of the same date as the churches. I have since been informed, however, that among the woods on the south-eastern face of the hill, the walls are traceable of an ancient Hellenic city, which, by its position relatively to *Conope* at Angheló-Kastro, would seem to have been *Metropolis*.

The persons left in charge of the monastery, on

perceiving our approach, locked it up and fled into the woods, taking us for thieves. My Albanian Palikária had not only climbed up the hill on foot, but found their way into the building before I could reach the summit on horseback. The monks have not occupied the house since the country has been tormented by the frequent incursions of robbers from the islands: its landed property is considerable, but not so large as that of Vlokhó. There is a neat small church, a cistern, and several cells.

The prospect from the monastery, which stands just below the summit, repays the trouble of ascending the hill. To the south are seen Kastro Tornése, and the plains of *Elis* and *Achaia*; to the north-eastward the mountains of 'Agrafa, from whence extends the hilly country which terminates in the plain of Vrakhóri, bounded on the S.E. by the lake and hills of Apókuro, and the great ridge of Zygós or *Aracynthus*. Beyond the mountains of Apókuro are seen those of Krávari, ending to the south in Mount Rígani over 'Epakto. The great mountain Viéna, which hides Velúkhi, has

ing in fish and wild fowl, and discharging a copious stream into the *Achelous*, the broad bed of which is separated only from the lake by a narrow plain. The junction of this discharge of the lake with the *Achelous* occurs a little below that of the river anciently called *Cyathus*, which flows from the lake of Vrakhóri and joins the main river opposite to Anghelókastro. Two miles below the union of the discharge from the lake of Lygovítzi, the *Achelous* is joined by a second tributary on the right bank proceeding from a marsh, and between them on the same side by a third smaller stream. The broad *white* bed of the *Achelous*, from which it derives the modern name Aspro, is widest between the site of *Stratus* at Surovígli and the lake of Lygovítzi. On the right bank, between Surovígli, the extremity of the mountain of Kekhreniá and the northern side of the lake of Lygovítzi, is a triangular plain, once the chief support of *Stratus*, but now almost entirely uncultivated, as it always has been in the memory of the present *Acarnanians*, though nothing inferior in natural fertility to that of Vrakhóri.

Having dined upon some provisions brought with us from Makhalá, very much in the manner of the kleftes, whom we are taken for, we descend through woods of velanídhi, among which are a few corn-fields, and some horses belonging to the monastery, into the direct road from Skortús to Pródhromo,—pass through some large flocks of sheep, which are attended by Vlakhiote Karagúnidhes of Mount *Pindus*, and arrive at Pródhromo

at half-past 4 P. M. The distance from Skortús is an hour and a quarter.

Pródhromo[1] stands exactly opposite to Khrysovítzi as Skortús does to Babíni. In the valley between the two former, and about a mile in a direct line from Pródhromo, rises an insulated hill, the summit and one side of which are enclosed with the remains of Hellenic walls, the summit forming a separate inclosure. It appears to have been nothing more than a small fortified κώμη, like that at Skortús, and very inferior in importance to the cities which stood at Porta and near Katúna. Anciently it would seem that every village in Acarnania was walled, whence we may infer that their insecurity was almost as great as it is now. It may easily be conceived, indeed, that between the sea pirates of the adjacent islands, who were at all times λῃστῆρες ἄνδρες[2], and the semi-barbarous tribes of the Epirotic and Ætolian mountains, their position was one of continued vigilance. Its effects, however, had not injured their character; for Thucydides speaks favourably of the Acarnanians, and they seem not to have altogether degenerated when compared with other Greeks.

The Proestós of Pródhromo, who is upwards of seventy years of age, remembers when there were 60 or 70 houses in his village: there are now only six. It is situated just on the skirt of the woods which occupy all the range of hills from Lygovítzi to where they terminate in the plains towards the mouth of the Aspro. The air is said to be very

[1] Πρόδρομος. [2] Homer, Od. O. 426, Π. 426.

healthy. In the valley, and on the slopes adjacent to this side of it, the Prodhromites cultivate wheat and barley, and they gather vallonéa[1], gall-nuts[2], and a seed or berry used in dyeing, called μερζόσπορος, on the hills. The soil is a dark-coloured friable mould, like that of the greater part of *Acarnania*. The griniá wheat, is sown from November to January, whenever there is an interval of dry weather favourable to it:—the dhiminió from the 10th of February to the 25th of March (old style.) If the spring be very dry this yields no more than 3, 4, or 5, to 1; but it usually gives 10, while the griniá never more than 6 or 7. The latter would perhaps yield as much as the dhiminió if it were carefully cleared of weeds, but this is seldom done in Greece. Barley is sown in the same season as griniá: the harvest is in the middle of June (old style.) Upon the kind of weather which leads to a good harvest they have this proverb—

Χαρὰ στὰ χριστόγενα στεγνὰ,
Τὰ φῶτα χιονισμένα,
Μὲ τὴν λαμπρὴν βρεχούμενην,
Τὰ μπάρια γιομισμένα.

"Joy to a dry Christmas, a snowy Epiphany, and a rainy Easter, then the barns will be filled."

The Sicilians say—Gennaro sicco borghese ricco.

Pródhromo, like all the smaller villages of Karlilí, is a Spahilík, and pays two fifteenths of the crop to the Spahí. The rest belongs to the Prodhromite[3], who is his own labourer, and pays all the expences of cultivation. His condition, which

[1] βελανίδι. [2] κηκίδι. [3] Προδρομίτης.

from this statement would seem to be independent, is quite the reverse. The Hodjá-bashi, or Proestós of Tragamésti, or of any other place upon the coast where the Prodhromite carries his corn or other produce for sale, prevents him from communicating with the islanders, who would give him a good price, and forces himself in as an intermediate purchaser, at a much lower: hence the current price of wheat here at present is not more that 3½ piastres the kilo of 22 okes, which is equivalent to about 3*s.* 6*d.* the bushel. The velanídhi, which being procured for the trouble of gathering would be a great advantage to the peasant, is monopolized in the same manner by the Proestí, who give him for the small sort, called χαμάδα, 20 piastres the milliaja of 1000 lire grosse Venete. One of my companions tells me that he has himself lately bought a quantity from the primates of Karlilí for 37 piastres and sold it for 50. The large inferior kind of velanídhi, called κάχλα, sells at 12 piastres the milliaja. Kikídhi, or gall-nuts, are sold by the gatherers for 15 paras the oke, and merzósporo the same. The surrounding hills upon which these productions are gathered abound in stags, deer, roebucks, and wild boars, as well as in jackals, which make a dismal howling at night.

Another disadvantage of which the Prodhromítes, in common with the other small villagers of *Acarnania*, complain is, that although surrounded with pasture, they are unable to have any flocks, which all belong to the Vezír and his sons, or to rich Turks, or to other persons who pay the Vezír for permission to feed their flocks in this part of

the country, all which are in the care of Vlakhiótes, or of Albanians from Mount *Pindus*. But even this oppression, or that which prevents the industrious man from employing his means in the most advantageous manner, or from carrying the fruits of his labour to the best market, is less grievous than the direct taxes and extortions which often deprive him at one blow of his scanty earnings. The kefaliátiko, or kharátj, is 7 piastres for every male above ten years old, in which is included half a piastre for the expences of the Proestós of Tragamésti, the chief town of the district, or of the persons whom he sends here to collect it. The vostína, which is paid to the Spahí, is a capitation tax of 60 parás for every married, and of 30 parás for every unmarried man. Τὰ χρέη, or the dues, as the taxes are denominated collectively, amount at Pródhromo to near 500 piastres a year for each family, a large part of which consists of the share of an arbitrary imposition laid upon the village by the Proestós of Tragamésti in acquittance of the demand which the Vezír makes upon Karlilí, to defray the expence of troops, or journeys, or wars, or upon any other pretence, and for the amount of which he is supposed to be accountable to the Porte, but does not account to any one. The Hodjá-bashis assemble and divide the burthen among the different districts, according to their population. Each of them afterwards adds to the sum the expences which he himself incurs, or pretends to have incurred, in journeys to attend the Vezír, or for entertaining and lodging Turks and soldiers, or for horses in the public service,

or upon any other plausible pretext. The imposition upon the village being as arbitrary as that of the Vezír upon the district, the Proestós enriches himself quickly, unless he should happen to be a man of extraordinary humanity, of whom there cannot be many in a country where honour and honesty are so little encouraged. In the territory of the Vezír they are particularly rare; for it is his usual policy to appoint the worst men to be primates, that he may make them disgorge when they are full of plunder; after which he often allows them to begin their extortions anew. In the smaller villages where the chief is styled protóghero, or chief alderman, he arranges in like manner the mode of payment of the khréi among the families, and generally in the Vezír's territories, or at least in those where his authority is firmly established, one person is charged with this office, or at most two in the large towns, whereas, in the Elefthero-khória of Greece, it is the common custom for all the primáti, or árkhondes, to meet and allot the taxes. If there be jealousy among them, as frequently occurs, so much the

he is obliged to give to the Albanian soldiers, although it is only upon such extraordinary occasions as the present *progress* of the Vezír that small villages situated so far out of the route as Pródhromo feel the inconvenience in its highest degree by the actual presence of the detested palikária. Mustá Bey, of Kónitza, who was quartered upon Makhalá, after having been supplied with provision and forage for himself and 250 followers, insisted upon a present of 100 piastres at departure, but was contented with 45. This was an unpardonable extortion, even by the laws of the Alý code, and would meet with punishment if it were made known to him, as he only allows the chief armatolós to demand presents in this manner. The poor Makhaliótes, however, stand probably too much in awe of the resentment of the Albanians to complain of the injury.

March 20.—From Pródhromo to Bodholovítza [1], distance 4 hours 7 minutes, with Albanians on foot. We set out at 9.25, ascend the pass which lies immediately at the back of Pródhromo, and in less than half an hour arrive at the summit of the ridge, when there appears before us a vast extent of velanídhi woods, frequented only by robbers, or by Karagúnidhes with their flocks, and traversed by winding paths difficult for a horse, and much more so for baggage. This is called the forest of Mánina. I had taken a path to the left of the direct road, with a view of finding my way to some ruins on the bank of the Aspro,

[1] Ποδολοβίτζα.

called Paleá Mani, but now perceive that it cannot be effected with the baggage horses. As the bolu-báshi of our Albanian escort declares at the same time that we are too few to be separated in these perilous times and places, we regain the common route from Pródhromo, having lost about 8 minutes by the detour. Our guide from Pródhromo points out a place where three Turks were murdered two yea[illegible] robbers who came from the Islands, [illegible]ied by the Russians. During a halt wh[illegible]ake, from 11.40 to 12.30, to dine at a [illegible] little opening in the midst of the forest, s[illegible]lies of Karagúnidhes pass us; they consist [illegible] of women and children, walking by th[illegible]f the horses, which carry the tents, maize, [illegible]ey, and all the domestic furniture. The infants are in baskets slung over the shoulders of the women, who with their bodies bent forward and a hurried step, drag along a horse, or a string of two or three horses, and are employed at the same time in spinning wool. These persons are Vlakhiótes from the mountains of Kalarýtes, and are on their way to the plains of Katokhí, where the men have preceded them with their flocks. The forest consists entirely of the veláni oak, which never grows to a great height, but is sometimes broad and spreads into a great number of branches. The little underwood there is, consists chiefly of the paliúri and wild kharúb. The khrysóxylo (Cotinus) used as a yellow dye, is also found here. Half an hour from Podholovítza, we emerge from the forest and enter on the plain which extends along the banks

of the Aspro to the sea. Though generally inundated in winter, it is now dry. The soil, consisting of a stiff white clay, is now under the plough for the reception of kalambókki, which they have not the means here of irrigating artificially.

Podholovítza consists only of a tower and a quadrangular inclosure of cottages surrounded by some wicker kalývia: it is situated at the foot of a small height, surmounted by a church, on the right bank of the Aspro, which being now collected into a narrower bed than in the plain of Vrakhóri, and augmented by the tributaries which join it near Anghelókastro, may be compared to the Thames at Staines. In summer it is very shallow, and may be crossed on foot at Podholovítza; but a quarter of a mile lower down, where a projecting rocky bank on the opposite side narrows the river to fifty yards, it is never fordable. Here is the ordinary ferry, and the only one except that of Katokhí.

We are informed by the people of Podholovítza that an epidemic disorder now reigning in Karlilí has lately carried off six persons in the village. We therefore cross to Guriá, which is situated about the same distance below the ferry that Podholovítza is above it. Here I find that the λοιμικὴ, as they call the sickness, was much exaggerated at Podholovítza, in order to frighten us away from thence, and that it has been worse here, though in neither place does it appear to be of a very malignant nature; for though hardly a Greek house in this village out of 30 or 40 has escaped it, two or three persons only have died. It is said to begin

with head-ache and fever; but if the patient is blooded, which is almost their only remedy, he generally recovers in fifteen days. There are a few Turkish families at Guriá, and a little mosque without a minaret. Below Guriá the river spreads over a large space, and has some sandy islands in it. It then takes a long bend to the left towards the extreme point of the hills which slope from Stamná into the plain. In the opening between this point and some heights towards the mouth of the river, appears the village of Magúla, on a small eminence in the plain, and Paleá Katúna at the foot of the hills to the right. Katokhí is hid by a projection of them.

Our Albanian escort consists partly of Mahometans and partly of Christians, who are all from the country near Berát and Kolónia. Since we got rid at Makhalá of a bolubáshi who had persuaded some of the Mussulmans that it was beneath their dignity to march before ghiaúrs, we have had no difficulties with any of them, and have kept them in perfect good humour by presenting them with a sheep or two every evening

curacy, and permission to look through my telescope is an ample reward.

Nothing can be more dissimilar than the Albanian manners and those of the Osmanlís, the most indolent and phlegmatic of human beings, unless when roused by some extraordinary excitement. In one respect, however, the two people accord,—namely, the love of gaming, though it is forbidden by the religion of Mahomet. As the Albanian soldier seldom burthens himself with provisions, he commonly solaces himself at a halt upon the road with a pinch of snuff and a draught of water. On arriving at a village, the first thing they generally do is to form a party at cards with heaps of parás, while those who do not play look on. A young man, who particularly distinguishes himself by his activity, named Aliús, informs me, that in his younger days, like many of the Albanian soldiers, he attended cattle in his native mountains, and that at Arza, a place on Mount Trebusín, two hours from Klisúra to the north-eastward, five hours from Tepeléni, and eight from Premedí, he was often in the habit of finding ancient coins of silver and copper.

March 21.—Having procured some horses at Guriá for some of the escort, and mounted others on the post-horses which we brought for the baggage from Prévyza, I cross the ferry with twelve of the palikária, and proceed in an hour and a half to Paleá Mani. The road is a horse-path, which, after crossing the little plain of Podholovítza, follows a narrow level on the bank of the *Achelous*, along the edge of the forest at the foot of the lowest

slopes of the hills of Mánina. Paleá Mani is the modern name of a Hellenic fortress standing upon one of the points of these hills, in the thickest part of the woods. As in the ruins of *Stratus*, one of the gates stood very near an arm of the *Achelous*, which is separated from the main stream by a portion of its broad gravelly bed. This gate is eight feet wide, diminishing towards the top, which is formed by two opposite stones hollowed into a curve, but not quite meeting, and covered in the middle with a single quadrangular stone ten feet in length, three feet and a quarter in height, and two feet and a quarter in the lower dimension or soffit. I remarked the same kind of construction in a small gate at Kamarína. Beams similar to the upper stone of the gate covered the passage in its whole length of eighteen feet; but of these only two remain in their places. This gateway leads into a small court of an irregular pentagonal form, which was defended externally on the side to the right in entering by a tower open to the court. Nearly opposite to the tower, a small gate leads from the court into the principal inclosure of the town or fortress. This inner gate standing on a slope, the beams of stone above the door project beyond one another like steps, and there are probably some corresponding steps below, which are now buried in the ruins and earth. The natives call the outer gate the Avlóporta [1], being in fact the entrance of a sort of αὐλή, or ante-chamber, of the fortress, which formed a good protection to the inner gate.

[1] Αὐλό-πορτα.

I have never seen any similar example of this kind of outwork.

From the inner gate the two walls of the principal inclosure mount the height to a small quadrangular acropolis at the summit of the hill, the wall to the right more directly, that to the left embracing a larger portion of the height, but both in curved lines, and that to the left in the upper part, forming a second curve, concave towards the exterior. The acropolis has an outer inclosure flanked by towers: both this and the Avlóporta are obviously posterior additions to the original work, being of more regular masonry, while that of the body of the place was entirely polygonal, without towers, and of an irregular plan, bearing strongly the character of a rude people, who possessed little of the science of military architecture as it existed in the more civilized parts of Greece. Such, in fact, was the condition of Acarnania before the age of Alexander. The original walls are in some parts near eleven feet in thickness, but are formed in the middle of rubble and are faced only with large uncemented masses. Among the posterior additions are the remains of a tower at the lower part of the citadel, of which ten or twelve courses of regular masonry remain on one side, and a small part of the adjacent side. The thickness of the wall here consists of single stones, not more than two feet and a half or three feet thick. In the mid-height of the remaining courses there is a loop-hole, or window, with a course of masonry narrower than the rest, and projecting a few

inches; there is a similar projection also at the foot of the wall.

The defence of the acropolis on the lower side towards the town is partly formed by a perpendicular excavation of the rock, upon which a wall has been built consisting of irregular blocks exactly fitted to the rock and to one another. The ruins are in no part more than eight or ten feet high, except at the Avló-porta. The inclosed space is so extremely rugged that one is surprised how such a place could ever have been inhabited, nor is there a single excavated foundation to be found. The greatest length, which is from the Acropolis to the Avlóporta, is about 600 yards.

In position this ruin seems to accord perfectly with Old Œnia, which Strabo describes as a deserted place situated on the Achelous, midway between Stratus and the sea. It is not to be inferred, however, that the Old Œnia[1], so called in the time of Strabo, was the same city which was founded by Alcmæon after the Trojan war, and named Œneia in honour of Œneus; for Thucydides clearly indicates that place as identical with

[1] Καὶ ἡ Αἰνία (lege Οἰνία) δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ (τῷ Ἀχελώῳ), ἡ μὲν παλαιὰ οὐ κατοικουμένη, ἴσον ἀπέχουσα τῆς τε θαλάττης καὶ τῆς Στράτου, ἡ δὲ νῦν ὅσον ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκβολῆς διέχουσα.—Strabo, p. 450.

It is surprising that the word Αἰνία is still retained in all the editions of Strabo, since it is clear, from ἡ νῦν in contradistinction to ἡ παλαιὰ, that Strabo meant Οἰνία, or the city of the Œniadæ, the orthography of which is certain, from various authors, from its coins, and from the derivation of the name.

the famous city of the Œniadæ near the mouth of the Achelous[1]. It would seem, therefore, that the ruins at Paleá Mani are those of a small and very ancient city of the Acarnanes, which, having been deserted long before the age of Strabo, and its history forgotten, had improperly received in his time the name of Old Œneia, as often occurs in the instance of ruins and deserted sites. It may possibly have been Erysiche, mentioned by the poet Alcman, which Stephanus improperly confounds with the city of Œniadæ, as seems evident from Apollodorus, whom Strabo cites to show that the Erysichæi were an inland people of Acarnania[2]. In later times, in consequence of the commanding situation in the pass leading along the right bank of the Achelous from the upper to the maritime plain, the original work may have been repaired and furnished with towers to serve as a fortress. Some part of the remains at the acropolis consists of Roman tiles, mixed with small stones and mortar, built on the Hellenic wall. As the pass naturally divided the territory of the Œniadæ from that of the Metropolitæ, to one of those two people probably the fortress belonged. At present there is no road to the northward beyond Paleá Mani; the wide branching bed of the *Achelous*, the marshes and lake at the foot of the steep woody mountain of Lygovítzi, and the thick forest be-

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 102.

[2] Stephan. in Ἐρυσίχη, Οἰνειάδαι.

Τῆς δὲ μεσογαίας κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν Ἐρυσιχαίους τινάς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος λέγεσθαι, ὧν Ἀλκμὰν μέμνηται. Οὐδ' Ἐρυσιχαῖος Καλυδώνιος οὐδὲ ποιμὴν, Ἀλλὰ Σαρδίων ἀπ' ἄκρας.—Strabo, p. 460.

tween the latter and Paleá Mani, being impassable, except to the shepherds and peasants of the neighbourhood. The woods around the ruin consist of oak, ilex, maple, and various kinds of underwood, festooned with wild grapes.

On the opposite side of the river stands a small tjiftlík and pyrgo called St. Elias, around which the lower falls of Zygós reach to the river side, and are covered with the cultivated fields belonging to Stamná. This village, distant three or four miles to the south-eastward, is situated upon a ridge, sloping on one side into a narrow plain on the bank of the Aspro, and on the other to the lagoon of Anatolikó, on the border of which Stamná has a skala and some magazines. At Anghelókastro, which is two or three miles to the north-eastward of St. Elias, is a ruined castle of middle times, standing upon the lowest heights of Zygós, with a small village below it in the corner of the *Ætolian* plain. The mountain above Anghelókastro and Stamná is separated from the highest woody summit of Zygós, upon which stands Khierásova, by the pass of Klisúra, already described as leading directly through the lofty ridge of *Aracynthus*, by a narrow rocky cleft forming a natural gate of communication between maritime Ætolia and the great interior plain [1].

Having returned from Paleá Mani to Guriá, we proceed in the afternoon to Anatolikó, over a plain of the same clayey white soil before remarked, and producing maize, wheat, barley, and flax. It

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 119. 154.

is marshy in some places, and near Anatolikó is artificially drained. In the parts most distant from the mountains dhiminió is not sown, as little rain falls in the spring, and they have not the means of irrigation. The distance from Guriá to the ferry of Anatolikó is two hours menzíl pace; but in a direct line much less, because the road makes a great turn to avoid the ridge, which, sloping from Stamná, ends in a point at which stands a hamlet called Mastú, where we arrived in forty minutes from Guriá. In approaching Anatolikó we pass through some of its gardens and olive plantations, at the foot of a hill which is quite unconnected with the heights of Stamná, and borders the lagoon on the west almost as far as the outer sea. Having crossed the lagoon in a monóxylo, we proceed to the house of an iatrós, who is brother-in-law of my travelling companion K——. The island of Anatolikó is about three miles distant from the northern extremity of the lagoon at the foot of the ridge of Stamná, and a mile distant from the bank on either side to the east and west. The island is so small as to be entirely covered with the town, which contains about 400 houses. Though some of these are large, the place is not at present in a flourishing state. Being, like Mesolónghi, supported chiefly by the profits of its ships and maritime commerce, it has suffered by the war, and many of the lower orders are deprived of their employment as sailors.

The territory extends three or four miles along either shore of the lagoon, and produces corn for about two months' consumption, wine rather more

than sufficient for the place, with a quantity of oil which admits of an export to the value of 40,000 piastres in the alternate years, when the full olive crop occurs. The fresh and salted fish from the lake furnish a traffic with Zákytho and other neighbouring places. The Vezír takes 46 purses a year for the fishery and other revenues of the crown from the proestí of Anatolikó, who share the farm with other principal persons of the place. These 23,000 piastres include 700 kharátjes, together with the imposts of the two villages of Magúla and Neo-khório, near the mouth of the Aspro.

My host the Iatrós says, that during the six years he has lived here he has been five years ill; while the natives have not such bad health—a melancholy state of affairs for the doctor, but which would be much more so were it not that according to the common custom in Greece he receives a fixed stipend. From the looks of the inhabitants I should not have supposed the place healthy: indeed, the narrowness of the lagoon in this part and the woody mountains which inclose it on three sides, seem far less favourable to health than the open and well-ventilated situation of Mesolónghi, where the people in every sense of the word are a well-looking race. The small quantity of salt held in solution by the water at Anatolikó, as I was surprised to find on tasting it, may also affect the quality of the air: the lagoon towards Mesolónghi, on the contrary, is as salt as the sea. This shows that all the northern part of the lake is chiefly formed by springs from the surrounding mountains, of which indeed there are several to be seen

on the neighbouring shore, particularly one near Klisúra, and another near a fresh-water marsh opposite to the town to the eastward. Though the water of the former is considered much the better, the monóxyla are more frequently sent to the latter because it is nearer. In the town there are only cisterns for rain water.

March 22.—From Anatolikó the ruined mill above Makhalá is visible to the N.N.W.; and a little to the left of it is seen the hill of Lygovítzi, then Mount Búmisto in a line with Stamná, and a pointed height to the southward of that village on the same ridge, called St. Elias. In all other directions the view is much circumscribed by the neighbouring part of Mount Zygós and by the height on the western side of the lagoon.

The distance in a direct line from Anatolikó to Mesolónghi is about 6 G. M. With a monóxylo it is almost double the distance, on account of a long low cape which separates the lagoon of Anatolikó from that of Mesolónghi, leaving only a communication between them half a mile broad, between the extremity of the cape and the ramma or thread of land which separates all the lagoons from the open sea. Having landed on the eastern shore at 3 P.M. we proceed to Mesolónghi by land. Already have the post-meridian thunder-showers, which characterize the Grecian spring, commenced. Both yesterday and to-day the clouds collected on the mountains about noon, and fell afterwards in rain accompanied with lightning. After an hour's ride, we are obliged to take shelter from one of these storms in a tower at the Alikí,

or salt-works, which are situated to the right of the road, on the narrow point of land. These salt-works belong to Mesolónghi, and produce 28000 piastres a year. Instead of repeated supplies of water being let into the salt-pans, as at Lefkádha, by which each pan produces a thickness of a foot or two of salt, and only the lower part of the salt is impure, it is here gathered as fast as each admission of water is evaporated; the consequence of which is, that a great quantity of earth is mixed with the salt, and only small portions of it are white and pure. There is another salt-work in the lagoon of Bokhóri. As soon as the weather clears we proceed, and soon enter the olive-grounds, gardens, and marshy ditches of Mesolónghi. In the town I find the Vezír Alý and all his court.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ÆTOLIA, ACARNANIA.

Kurt-agá, *Calydon*—*Temple of Diana Laphria*—River *Evenus*—Mount *Chalcis*—To Aía Triádha—Neokhóri—Stamná—*Œtolo-Acarnanian* agriculture—Return to Neokhóri—Magúla—Kurtzolári—Katokhí—Trikardhó-kastro, *Œniadæ*—*March of Philip* from *Limnæa* to *Œniadæ*—*Phœteiæ*—*Medeon*—*Metropolis*—*Conope*, *Ithoria*, *Pæanium*—*Elæus*—*Artemita*—*Oxeiæ*—Lakes *Melite*, *Cynia*, *Uria*—Lake of *Calydon*—Course of the *Achelous* below *Œniadæ*.

March 25.—Kurt-agá, the site of *Calydon*, is a ride of 1 hour and 35 minutes from Mesolónghi. Midway, opposite to the eastern termination of the lagoon of Mesolónghi, at a ζενγαλάτι, or farm belonging to Statháki, one of the proestí of Mesolónghi, are some remains of ancient buildings, resembling Roman baths. Two chambers subsist which have curved and arched niches in the walls, and on the outside several holes, one of which is partly filled with indurated sediment formed by a long continued course of water. These remains mark, perhaps, the position of Halicyrna, which Pliny states to have been near Pleuron, and

Strabo describes as a κώμη situated 30 stades below Calydon towards the sea[1].

The first object which arrests the attention on approaching the remains of *Calydon*, is a wall of regular masonry formed of quadrangular blocks about three feet in their longest dimension, and standing on the side of a projecting hill, from which many of the stones have rolled down into the bed of a small torrent. This wall formed part of an oblong quadrangular building, inclosing all the summit of the height, which being much steeper towards the torrent than on the other sides, required in that part the support of a strong buttress, or projection from the quadrangle; this is the portion of the building which is now so conspicuous; its height is about 18 feet. As this ruin is entirely separate from the enclosure of the city, it is probably the remains of the peribolus of a temple, such edifices having often been placed on the outside of Greek cities, where, protected by their sanctity, they were left open to the use of the surrounding country. Although not a vestige of the temple itself re-

don[1]. Diana Laphræa, or Laphria, was another of the protecting deities of the Calydonii, and was worshipped perhaps in the same temple, or in an adjoining sanctuary. When Augustus founded Patræ, and peopled it in part with the inhabitants of Calydon, he directed the statue of Diana Laphræa to be given to the new colony, where it was placed in the acropolis, in a temple dedicated to the goddess, who was honoured with an annual festival, a procession, and a very cruel sacrifice[2]. The remains of the walls of *Calydon* are traceable in their whole circuit of near two miles and a half; they subsist in most parts to the height of three or four feet, and are formed of the same kind of masonry as the peribolus of the temple. They included the last falls of Mount Zygós towards the river Fidhári or *Evenus*, with the exception of the extreme point, which was excluded. On the western side the wall descends along the left bank of the torrent before-mentioned, until, after receiving the waters from the slopes of the city itself, through an opening made in the wall to admit their passage, the torrent changes its course from south to west, and flows parallel to the longer side of the peribolus into the plain. Between the peribolus and the part of the city wall opposite to it are several foundations. The breadth of the city was very much diminished at the southern extremity, so as to present a small front towards the *Evenus*. On the east the walls ascended the crest

[1] *περὶ δὲ τὴν Καλυδῶνα ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Λαφραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν.*—Strabo, p. 459.

[2] Pausan. Achaic. c. 18.—See Travels in the Morea, vol. II. p. 127.

of a narrow ridge to the acropolis, in a convex form, and were protected in the steepest part towards the citadel by some short flanks.

The northern front of the city crossed a ridge which connects the heights occupied by the city with the neighbouring part of Mount Zygós; in the middle of this side, on the highest part of the ridge, was the acropolis, which was well protected with towers without, and within consisted of a rectangular inclosure unequally subdivided by a cross wall. Many parts of the inclosure of the lower town are flanked by towers, and foundations of terraces are observable on the slope of the hill within the inclosure. There was a large gate on the south-eastern side of the town, and small ones in other places. I searched in vain for any vestiges of a theatre, or for any remains of civil architecture. At the foot of the ridge, the crest of which is occupied by the eastern walls, flows a small branch of the *Evenus*, and another waters the similar parallel valley of Potamúla, which village is only half an hour to the north-eastward, but not in sight.

I have taken it for granted that these are the ruins of Calydon, though it must be admitted that the writer who indicates their situation most precisely is not among the best of geographical authorities. I allude to Pliny, who says that Calydon was near the Evenus, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the sea [1], which accords exactly with this position. But he is strongly supported by probability. It is

[1] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 2.

evident that the fertile plain of Calydon, over-against the land of Pelops, in which fifty fields of vineyards and arable were offered to Meleager[1], could have been no other than that which lies between Mount Varássova and the lagoon of Mesolónghi, nor is it easy to conceive that the extensive remains at Kurt-agá are those of any less important city, placed as they are so centrally with regard to that plain, and in so commanding a situation at the entrance of the vale of the *Evenus*, where that river issues from the interior valleys into the maritime plain. As to the epithets which Homer gives to Calydon, it must be confessed that ἐραννὴ seems more suitable to this site than either πετρήεσσα or αἰπεινὴ, both of which would be better applied to that immense mass of

[1] Κουρῆτές τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μενεχάρμαι,
Ἀμφὶ πόλιν Καλυδῶνα καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐνάριζον·
Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν, ἀμυνόμενοι Καλυδῶνος ἐραννῆς·
Κουρῆτες δὲ, διαπραθέειν μεμαῶτες Ἄρηϊ.
Il. I. v. 525.

Ὀππόθι πιότατον πεδίον Καλυδῶνος ἐραννῆς
Ἔνθα μιν ἤνωγον τέμενος περικαλλὲς ἑλέσθαι
Πεντηκοντόγυον· τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ οἰνοπέδοιο,
Ἥμισυ δὲ ψιλὴν ἄροσιν πεδίοιο ταμέσθαι.
Il. I. v. 577.

Καλυδὼν μὲν ἥδε γαῖα Πελοπείας χθονὸς
Ἐν ἀντιπορθμοῖς πέδι' ἔχουσ' εὐδαίμονα.
Eurip. Meleag. ap. Lucian. Symp.

Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχίαλον Καλυδῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν.
Il. B. v. 640.

Ὅς πάσῃ Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι
Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἄνασσε . . . .
Il. N. v. 217.

rock anciently named Chalcis, and now Varássova, which rises directly in face of the ruins, on the opposite side of the river. In truth, the situation is as low as it could have been, not to be in the plain; Strabo, indeed, seems to have been sensible that the epithets πετρηέσση and αἰπεινὴ were not very well adapted to Calydon, since he remarks that they are to be applied to the district.

From the summit which rises above the ruins, the ridge of Zygós branches westward to the *Aspro*, and that of Apókuro northward to its union with Mount Viéna, having the lake of Apókuro on its western side, and the valley of the Fidhári on its eastern. From Mount Varássova branch the great ridges of Krávari, which though like Apókuro, covered in the higher parts with forests, was well cultivated by the inhabitants of numerous Eleftherokhória, until the country fell into the hands of Alý Pashá, since which event the population has greatly diminished, and some of the largest villages are now almost deserted. Not long ago some person informed the Pashá that the daughter of the Proestós of Megadhéndhro, a village in the vale of the *Evenus*, 5 or 6 hours above *Calydon*, was a girl of extraordinary beauty; he demanded her accordingly of the father, who thought it better to comply than to fly from the country, and abandon all his property: a few days before I arrived at Prévyza she was received into the Pashá's harém there, and was sent to Ioánnina on the Vezír's departure.

In a valley at the back of Mount Varássova, where stood the village of Perthóri, now deserted,

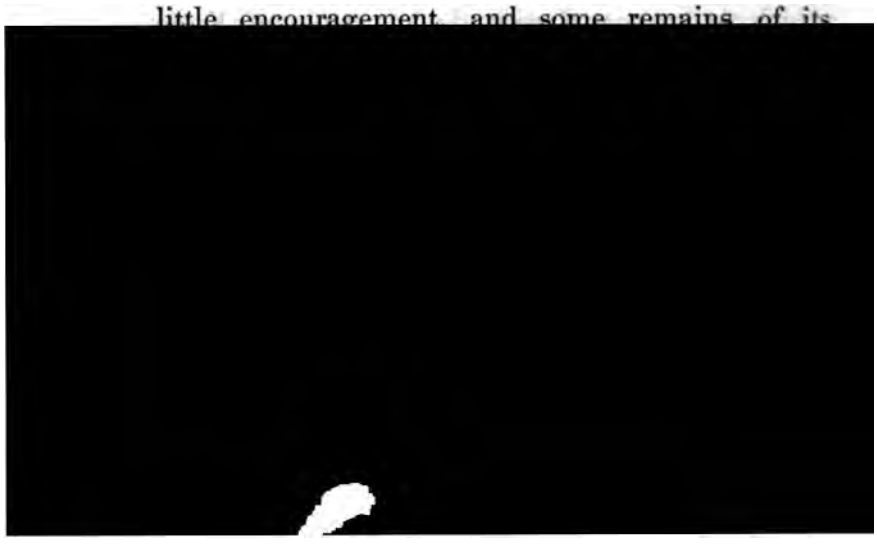
and below it Mavromáti, are said to be some well preserved remains of an ancient Greek fortress. It was probably only a subordinate castle, as the towns of *Chalcis* and *Macyneia* were very near the sea shore. Admitting the ruins at Kurtagá to be those of *Calydon*, there can be little hesitation in considering the *Pleuronia*, which as I have before shown was the territory next to the *Calydonia* in a westerly direction, to have been that which is now attached to Mesolónghi. Having again examined the remains at Ghyftókastro, behind Mesolónghi, I find that a low rocky height, separated by a branch of the plain of Mesolónghi from the foot of the mountain of Kyría Iríni, was entirely surrounded by walls. Some parts of the masonry are constructed in the most regular Hellenic manner, and others are of narrow stones laid carelessly without cement, among which are seen some very large wrought blocks, the work apparently of a remote age. The walls seem not only to have surrounded the summit, but to have extended also over a lower height which is connected with the mountain of Kyría Iríni, and which advances farther into the plain. I observe also the foundations of a tower or other quadrangular building at the foot of the height in the plain. I have before remarked that these are probably the ruins of the Pleuron of Homer [1], and that Kyría Iríni was the city which the Pleuronii built on Mount Aracynthus, after the destruction of the former by Demetrius Ætolicus [2].

[1] Il. B. v. 639; N. v. 217; Æ. v. 116.

[2] Strabo, p 451. See Vol. I. p. 118.

It is remarkable, that among the numerous Mesolonghítes, by whom I have been visited, one only has ever been at the Castle of Kyría Iríni, and he probably would never have gone there, had he not accompanied an Englishman.

March 26.—The Greeks of Karlilí, particularly of that part of it which constituted the ancient Acarnania, enjoyed, until the time of Alý Pashá, a considerable share of security and prosperity. They had a profitable traffic in cattle and provisions with the Islands; and although the country was often infested by robbers and pirates who had a secure refuge in some of the smaller islands, the armatolí kept them in check: there was generally a good understanding between the chief Greeks of *Acarnania* and the Dervent-agá, and they received some advantage from Karlilí having been an imperial appanage. They speak with great respect and regret of Kurt Pashá, the guardian of the Dervénia to whom Alý succeeded. In consequence of the easy circumstances of many of the *Acarnanian* families, education received a little encouragement, and some remains of its



tality, but do not speak very favourably of their honesty or regard to truth. The people of Mesolónghi and Anatolikó are regarded as ψαρομυαλοὶ, or fish-brained, and Θιακὸς, an Ithacan, seems to be a common term of contempt. The Leucadians, as a part of their own nation, are well spoken of, and I believe not undeservedly.

The Mesolonghítes are agreed in commendation of the conduct of Tahír Agá of Konízpoli, who for the last year has been their governor. Nobody understands better than an Albanian how to conduct himself in office when there exists a control over the avaricious disposition which invariably obtains the ascendency when there is nothing to prevent it. The Vezír, wishing to act with moderation towards Mesolónghi at the beginning of his government of this place, sent purposely a person as his deputy who was suited to execute that intention, and he is now about to employ Tahír Agá, with the advantage of the reputation which he has gained at Mesolónghi in a similar mission in Krávari. Alý's authority over Mesolónghi and Anatolikó is derived solely from his office of Dervént Agá, and his farm of the mirí, six-sevenths of which he underrents yearly from some Turks at Constantinople, and has purchased the other seventh from one Salý Agá of Mesolónghi, who possessed it for life.

The plain extending from Mesolónghi to Bokhóri and the sea, although clayey is fertile and tolerably cultivated. Near the shore is a chain of lagoons, of which the eastern, belonging to Bokhóri, is much the largest. It is valuable for its salt-work and fisheries. The greater part of the labour in the plain is performed by men of

Kefalonía and Zákytho. The Kefalonítes, who work in the vineyards, earn from 40 to 45 parás a day, with wine. The Zakythiní are reckoned the best reapers. The chief produce of the Islands being grapes and currants, the principal harvest occurs there later than on the continent; while their small quantity of corn is reaped earlier, and thus their labourers obtain employment on the continent without losing any at home, and pay for a part of the provisions with which the continent supplies the Islands. In the territory of Bokhóri the land belongs to Turks: the Greek farmers receive the seed from the landlord and pay him half the crop after the deduction of the dhekatiá.

March 27.—After 36 hours of a southerly wind, with rain, the weather improving, I embark to-day in a monóxylo, accompanied by six others, to convey the servants, baggage, and Albanian escort, and in two hours cross the lagoon to Aía Triádha, a small monastery situated on the extreme point of the ridge which borders the western shore of the lagoon of Anatolikó. Our monóxyla move about three miles an hour: they have large square sails, but these add very little to the velocity unless the boat is lightly laden. That in which I am embarked moves as quick with a single pole, as another full of Albanians with the sail set and two men punting: the pole, by which a man at the stern gives the motion, is about ten feet long, with three prongs at the end. The water varies in depth from one foot to four. Fish are taken, as in the liváriа of Arta, by kalamotés[1], or chambers

[1] καλαμωταίς.

made of reeds fixed at the passages by which the fish pass from the lake into the sea. The kalamotés are left open from January till May 15, old style, when the water of the lagoon becoming hot or the breeding being complete, the fish begin to return to the sea, and each sort of fish having its season for returning, they are caught in this manner all the summer and autumn. The weather still continues showery and disagreeable. At 2.50 we leave Aía Triádha, and proceed along the foot of the height, on the other side of which, to the right, is the lagoon of Anatolikó. The hill is covered with olives, and adorned with all the flowers and verdure of an advanced spring, although scarcely a leaf was to be seen in the interior. To the left a watery bog extends for five or six miles in the direction of the sea and the mouth of the Aspro. Opposite to the opening which leads to Anatolikó, between Mastú and the northern extremity of the ridge which we have been following, we leave the road to Mastú and Guriá on the right, and cross the plain over swamps, ditches, and marshy grounds, among which are many vineyards, to Neo Khóri, on the left bank of the Aspro —a village containing 80 families, of which 30 are Turks. A portion of it is a tjiftlík of Mukhtár Pashá. Magúla is a mile lower down the river, standing on a small eminence in the plain: opposite to it, on the other side of the river, is Katokhí, on a similar height at the extremity of the hills which begin about Paleá Katúna and end near Katokhí. These hills are entirely separated from those of Mánina by a plain which begins from the bank of the Aspro opposite to

Guriá, and ends in a great marsh extending to the foot of a rocky height called Khalkítza, near Petalá. The complexion of the inhabitants of Neokhóri shows the badness of the air; nor can it be otherwise, surrounded as the place is, in so many directions, by extensive marshes.

March 28.—The Vezír having carried away the two περατερίαις, or ferry-boats of Katokhí and Guriá, to convey his Albanians across the river at some place in the plain of Vrakhóri, because the late rains have rendered the fords there impracticable, I proceed to Stamná, there to remain in a better lodging and pleasanter situation until we can devise some mode of crossing the river. Leaving Neokhóri at 8.30, we follow the bank of the Aspro, and in a little more than an hour arrive at Guriá, from whence, ascending the ridge of Stamná by a rugged path, we pass at 10.15 the hamlet of St. Elias, at the foot of a peaked height which is very remarkable in all directions around, and at 10.45 arrive at Stamná, where I occupy the house of the Hodjá-bashi, Demetrius Tzimburáki, who is now at Vrakhóri, with the other Proestí of Karlilí assembled at that place to meet the Vezír, who left Stamná on the 25th and travelled to Vrakhóri, all the way in his κοτζί, a clumsy German four wheeled carriage. Several of these primates are in great trepidation, fearful of the effects of the part which they necessarily took against the Vezír, when the deputy of Yusúf, the Validé Kiáyassy, governed this province.

Stamná, once a considerable town, now contains only 80 families; and not a fifth part of its lands, which belong entirely to Greeks, is cultivated,

although it has suffered less in proportion than many places in *Acarnania*, from not being in the line of the most frequented communications. Its decline dates from the first Russian war, when Orloff sent hither a Kefalonite to originate a rebellion in aid of Catherine's war with Turkey. Flags were made, under which men, women, and children assembled, to establish their liberty and independence; very soon, however, some Albanians marched against them from Vrakhóri, slaughtered the men, made slaves of the women and children, and pillaged the houses; and thus ended the epanástasis of Stamná.

The lands of the larger Greek proprietors in the surrounding parts of *Acarnania* and *Ætolia* are generally worked in the same manner as the Turkish tjiftlíks, by a metayer, the terms varying according to the nature of the produce and quality of the land. The land-owner makes a yearly commutation with the Turkish farmer of the mirí, and on bad lands sometimes derives no advantage, but that of taking the dhekatía in kind, which is one eighth or two fifteenths of the crop. In this case the cultivator is at all the expences. Where the land is particularly good, it is common for the owner to furnish the seed, and for the cultivator, after bearing all the other expences, to account for half the crop, deducting the dhekatía. In ordinary kinds of arable a third is received by the proprietor upon the same conditions, or he supplies seed and stock and pays all the expences, the farmer contributing only his labour, and receiving a fifth of the crop after the dhekatía is deducted. In the culture of

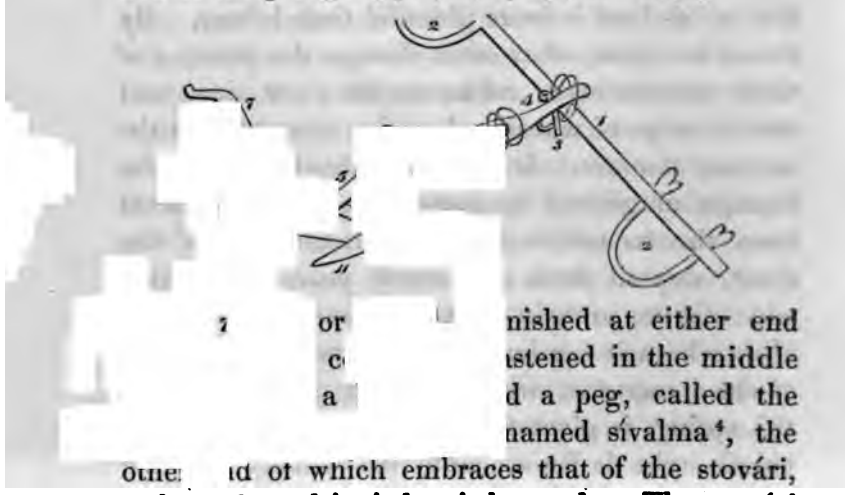
maize this mode is general in Western G
except that the peasant receives a fourth i
of a fifth, because the labour and attention re
is greater, and the expence of seed for maize is
compared to the produce, which is generall
to one in the gross. The seeds on an ear of
are from three to five hundred, and there are
three heads on one stem. A measure of 1
is the common proportion of seed for a stre
square of 112 feet) of wheat, or for five strém
rokka, as maize is here called. The only ex
imposed upon the *Acarnanian* metayer in ord
cases, is half the expence of threshing, called
nístiko in wheat and barley, and stumbístil
rokka; the first being performed by horses
aloni or threshing-floor, the latter by a stick.

When maize is irrigated, the crop is seldo
good as when it is watered only by the s
rains; but it is in particular situations only o
mountains that these can be depended upon.
irrigated fields of rokka are chiefly near the r
The crop of this grain is usually followed by
of wheat, and the farmer takes the land fo

nearly as good as fallow. It seems, however, that the two successive crops of wheat generally occur on land which has lain some time fallow; an advantage which the cultivator in Greece can generally obtain, as land is more plentiful than labour. By the same means they often change the position of their plantations of rokka on the river side, and obtain crops of wheat and rokka alternately without any manure. It is even doubted whether the change of ground be necessary, as the torrents from the mountains, and the inundation of the river, deposit fresh soil every year. Dhiminió wheat is not sown in the plains, but higher up the river where it can be irrigated, and in some parts of the mountains, where they are sure of rain in the spring, it gives fifteen to one. This grain is not thought fit for use until the January after the crop, but will keep three years: the griniá is not good beyond the year.

There is a mode of preparing the land for wheat, barley, flax, and beans, with the hoe, as in Sicily, without ploughing. The hoers come from Kefalonía, provisions are furnished by the master, and are paid for by the labourer out of his share of the crop, which is half, after the dhekatía has been deducted. The produce with the hoe is more plentiful, the plough being too light for the soil, and often weighing not more than the yoke. The corn measures used here are the κάδος and καδάρα; the former is a fifth greater than the κοῖλον of Constantinople, and is generally reckoned to contain 26 okes; the kadhára 15 okes. The more opulent cultivators have four or five oxen to

each zevgári or plough-yoke, and consider that they can plough 60 strémata with them. The subjoined figure will show the form and construction of the plough (ἄροτρον, ἀρέτρι, or ἀλέτρι).



or nished at either end
c istened in the middle
a d a peg, called the
named sívalma [4], the
one id of which embraces that of the stovári, **or beam [5], and is tied to it by cords. The stovári** at the other end enters the aletropódha, or plough-foot [6], which at the upper end is embraced by and lashed to the khiroládhi, or handle [7]. The stovári forms an angle in the middle, where it is pierced by the spáthi, or sheath [8], which is steadied by a sfina, or peg [9], and at the lower end enters the aletropódha through the middle of a trifurcated piece, one end of which is tenoned into the lower end of the aletropódha, and covered with the yní, or share [10]; the two other branches, called the fterá, or wings [11], serve to throw out the clods on

[1] ζυγός. [2] αἱ ζέβλαις. [3] κλειδί.
[4] σίβαλμα. [5] στοβάρι. [6] ἀλετροπόδα.
[7] χειρολάδι. [8] σπάθι. [9] σφίνα.
[10] ὑνί. [11] φτερά.

either side as the plough advances. The zygós is 6 feet 8 inches long, and 11 inches in circumference; the aletropódha 4 feet 1 inch following the bend, and 1 foot 4 inches in circumference at the head; the stovári 7 feet 2 inches long, and 1 foot 2 inches in circumference at the sfina; the sívalma 3 feet long; the khiroládhi 1 foot 10 inches; the fterá and spáthi each 2 feet 1 inch; the yní weighs 3 okes. This is the plough drawn by oxen, for buffalos the dimensions are larger, or at least the share is heavier, weighing 5 okes. The construction is the same in every part of *Acarnania* and *Ætolia*, or at least with little variation. At Makhalá the wings are two separate pieces of iron inserted into the sides of the aletropódha. The vúkendro[1] is a pointed stick, near seven feet in length, to goad the oxen.

My absent host, who has the reputation of being one of the few Proestí in Karlilí that do not plunder their districts, has in consequence of his moderation no more than 500*l.* a year out of a considerable landed property, which income is farther diminished by the Vezír's demands upon him. He keeps only two men and two women servants, has no glass to his windows, and only one room tolerably furnished.

The mode in which the Vezír put to death the two brothers Kátziko-Ianni, who lived at Plaghiá, opposite to Lefkádha, furnishes a good example of Albanian policy. He had long been on apparent terms of friendly intercourse with them,

[1] *βούκεντρον.*

but amidst which there was strong mistrust on their part. One brother at a time had often visited him when he came to Mýtika; he was convinced that little would be gained by destroying only one of them, and they were aware of the danger there would be in both placing themselves in his power. At length by bribery and promises he persuaded them to carry off from Lefkádha the family of a Greek captain of armatolí, who was a refugee with the Russians, and to deliver these captives to him. By this action they lost their credit with the Russians. The Vezír then called Bekír Agá, the commander of my Albanian escort, who relates the story to me, and who is usually called from his love of gaming Bekír Giocatór. Bekír is of Berát, and left the service of Ibrahím Pashá for that of Alý, bringing with him 200 men, half from Berát and the rest from Kolónia and other places. The Vezír suddenly ordered Bekír to Karlilí, telling him, that if he did not succeed in destroying the Kátziko-Iannis, he had better drown himself in one of the lakes. Upon receiving this command, Bekír sent a messenger to Plaghiá, informing the Kátziko-Iannis that he had a commission from the Vezír against one Captain Ghiorgáki, an enemy of theirs, and requesting them to meet him and concert measures accordingly. Kitzo (Khristós) the elder of the brothers, fell into the snare, but not without having taken the precaution to write to his brother, desiring him to remain at some distance, that they might not both meet Bekír Agá together. Bekír, who had foreseen this, laid his plan so well that he intercepted the

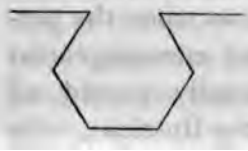
letter. Kitzo, as soon as he saw his brother, exclaimed, "Why did you neglect what I said? we are both lost!" and so it turned out. The Vezír immediately wrote to the Russians, making a merit of his having chastised the men who had had the audacity to carry off the family of a person under their protection, and who had often committed depredations on travellers passing through the channel of Lefkádha; which in fact they had done.

Two years ago the Vezír took a famous Vlakhiote captain of robbers, Katz-Andónio, one of the greatest of the Kleftic heroes, and the subject of many a song. He ordered him to name the persons from whom he had received encouragement and presents. Andónio very coolly named all the Vezír's enemies, including the Russians, with whom the Turks were then at war. The Vezír knew that the robber was rich, and offered to spare his life for a share of his wealth, but without any effect upon him, as he knew Alý too well to trust to his promises. The Vezír then ordered his legs to be broken, which was done in the most cruel manner, in the midst of a crowd of Turks, whom Andónio abused all the while, saying they would not dare stand so near him if his legs were still whole, and joking with a relative who was suffering the same torture close by.

Bekír lately accompanied a Frenchman, by order of the Vezír, to collect cattle from the villages, in payment of a debt due by the Pashá for jewels, which having been assigned to the government, or commissary of provisions at Corfú, the

garrison was to be supplied in this manner with beef. The Vezír obliged the Proestí to guarantee his payment of the cattle to the owners, allowing the former to deduct the amount from their accounts with him. Between the two, the poor owners of course are in a bad way.

St. Elias, two miles to the southward of Stamná, is distinguished from the tjiftlík of the same name on the left bank of the Aspro, opposite to Paleá Mani, by the name of St. Elias at the Almond-trees[1]. Here I find an ancient cistern, shaped as below in the vertical section, and covered within with a coat of stucco.



The pointed height which rises above St. Elias commands an extensive and interesting prospect. The mountain of **Tragamésti, and Mount Búmisto terminate the** view to the northward; to the right of the latter appears Lygovítzi, the ruined mill above Makhalá, and the whole course of the Aspro upwards to the site of *Stratus*. From Petalá to Mesolónghi are spread the maritime plains, marshes, and lagoons, beyond which appear Kefalonía, Zákytho, and *Elis*. To the eastward the mountains of Zygós impede the prospect, and particularly the height of the Panaghía, which rises from the plain at the head of the lagoon of Anatolikó, leaving nothing seen of the interior of *Ætolia*, except the summits of Mount Viéna. All on this side of the height of Panaghía is named Kato-Zygós, on the other Apáno-Zygós.

[1] Ἅγιος Ἠλείας σταὶς Μυγδαλιαίς.

On a projecting point of the Stamná ridge, half-way between Mastú and the Aspro, are the foundations of a fortified κώμη, nearly of the same size as those at Skortús and Pródhromo.

April 1.—Return to Neokhóri, and from thence visit Magúla, a name often attached, as in the present instance, to a small height in a plain, and therefore wherever it occurs a likely place to find antiquities. But there are no such appearances at this Magúla. It is a village of 30 houses, belonging to Yakúb Bey, of Vrakhóri, who takes a third of the crop, and makes an allowance for the seed, all the other expences being borne by the cultivators. Wheat and rokka are the only produce of the lands. The eminence upon which the village stands is half a mile distant from the left bank of the Aspro and commands a view of the plains and marshes towards the mouth of the river.

Kurtzolári and Oxía[1] are conspicuous in that direction, the latter immediately to the left of the mouth of the Aspro, the former a little farther to the left; Mesolónghi, the castle of Patra, and Mount Varássova, are also seen from Magúla. Kurtzolári is a high peaked mountain falling into small hills which form a promontory opposite to Oxiá, and which on the land side border the *Acheloian* plain. To the north-west, the heights reach nearly to the mouth of the river; at the opposite end are some marshes and lagoons which extend with small intervals of plain to the western

[1] Κουρτζολάρι.—Ὀξεῖα.

extremity of the great lagoons of Anatolikó and Mesolónghi. Cattle feed upon the mountain, but with the exception of two or three kalývia there are no habitations nearer to it than Magúla. In the plain near its eastern extremity is a deserted convent of St. John. The Kalóghero who manages its property resides at Magúla. The Protóghero points out to me a place on the last slope of the nearest part of Mount Kurtzolári, where stands a quadrangular Hellenic ruin, about the size of one of the houses in his village: the wall remains in some parts to the height of six feet. He knows of no other Paleó-kastro in that direction.

The plain around Kurtzolári and Magúla, as well as that of Katokhí, on the opposite bank of the river, furnishes pasture to a great number of cattle; 5000 might easily be purchased here at a short notice: they fatten especially on the young shoots of the reeds in the marshes of Katokhí and Tríkardho. It is the custom to set fire to these reeds in the summer, which causes a plentiful supply of young shoots soon afterwards. Young oxen are broken in for the plough by tying them by the horn to the old oxen when two years old, and thus allowing them to range about: whenever the young one is inclined to be frisky the old one corrects him with his horn. When fit for labour he is worth a hundred piastres; the expence of his board and education is about 20 piastres. A cow or ox for slaughter is sold from the pasture to the Islanders for 35 piastres. The cow yields six or seven okes of butter a year, only producing it for about three months: a buffalo cow yields 30 okes

of butter, and sells for 80 piastres; a buffalo for labour 150 piastres; a buffalo skin for 40 or 50 piastres; the skin of a large full-grown ox 15 piastres. Butter 100 parás the oke. The people of Magúla have the care of the greater part of the cattle to the left of the river, those of Katokhí to the right: the monastery of Ai Iánni possesses 70 oxen.

A Maguliote, describing to me the bad air of the place in summer, said, "When you wake in the morning your head is so large[1]:" holding his hands at some distance from his ears, as a poetical mode of describing the waker's sensations. They believe that Katokhí and Neo-khóri, especially when the wind is southerly, are less unhealthy, and that the excessive heat of Magúla is caused by the hill being of gypsum, but of which I saw no appearance.

April 2.—The Skáloma at the mouth of the *Achelous* is known by the name of Sálitza, or Great Sálitza[2]. A boat which I had sent for to Mesolónghi had advanced so far on its way to Katokhí, when a quarrel ensued among the boatmen, and they returned to Mesolónghi. I had just sent some persons to drag up to Neokhóri another boat which had arrived at Sálitza; when the regular ferry-boat unexpectedly made its appearance, having been sent down by the Vezír, as soon as he had crossed the river yesterday at Lepenú. At length, therefore, we are enabled to pass over to Katokhí,

[1] *ὅταν ξημερώνεις, τὸ κεφάλι εἶναι τόσον χοντρόν.*

[2] *Τρανὴ Σάλιτζα.*

where we lodge in the house of the Proestós, which commands a view down a long reach of the *Achelous*. The bed of the river is here 400 yards in breadth, and now quite full of water, though there has not been any rain even in the mountains since the 27th, and the sky has been without a cloud, with land and sea breezes in regular alternation, as usual near the coast in summer.

Katokhí[1] contains 100 families, and was once undoubtedly a place of greater importance, having a large ancient church of St. Pandeleemon[2], which is said to have been built by Theodora, wife of Justinian. On a rock in the middle of the village stands a tower with very thick walls, apparently of the same age as the church. A sepulchral stone, forming part of the altar in the church, is inscribed with the name of Phormion, the son of Thuion, in characters of the best Hellenic times[3].

April 3.—Four miles to the westward of Katokhí is Tríkardho, or Trigardhókastro[4], the modern name of the ruins of a large Hellenic city, which was undoubtedly Œnia, or the city of the Œniadæ, that place having been situated near the mouth of the Achelous, on the frontier of Acarnania towards Ætolia, opposite to the promontory Araxus[5], and to that part of the Peloponnesus which was inhabited by the Dymæi, all which

[1] Κατωχή.

[2] Ἅγιος Παντελεήμων.

[3] V. Inscription, No. 163.

[4] Τρίκαρδον, Τρικαρδό-καστρον, Τριγαρδό-καστρον.

[5] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 111; l. 3, c. 7.

τοὺς γὰρ Οἰνιάδας κεῖσθαι συμβαίνει παρὰ θάλατταν ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, τῷ

data will agree with Tríkardho. The city occupied an extensive insulated hill, in no part very high, now covered with a forest of veláni oaks, and which is half surrounded on the northern and eastern, which are the highest sides, by a great marshy lake, called the lake of Lesíni, or Katokhí. In the opposite direction the height throws out a low projection towards the *Achelous*, which, making a long semi-circular sweep round it, approaches nearest to the height on the western side. As at *Calydon* the lowest point of the hill was excluded from the walls, which formed a narrow inclosure at that extremity, and presented a very short front towards the river. The entire circuit of the fortification still exists, following the crest of the height on the eastern and northern side, where it falls abruptly to the marsh, but to the westward leaving a considerable slope on the outside. At the highest or north-eastern point of the inclosure, a piece of wall with an adjoining tower subsist to the height of 20 feet. The former has not a single rectangular stone in it; most of the polygons are equal to cubes of $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 feet, and the beauty

πρὸς Αἰτώλους συνάπτοντι περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου· τῆς δὲ Πελοποννήσου τέτακται μὲν ἡ πόλις καταντικρὺ τῆς παραλίας τῆς τῶν Δυμαίων· ἔγγιστα δ' αὐτῆς ὑπάρχει τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἄραξον τόποις· ἀπέχει γὰρ οὐ πλεῖον ἑκατὸν σταδίων. —Polyb. l. 4, c. 65.

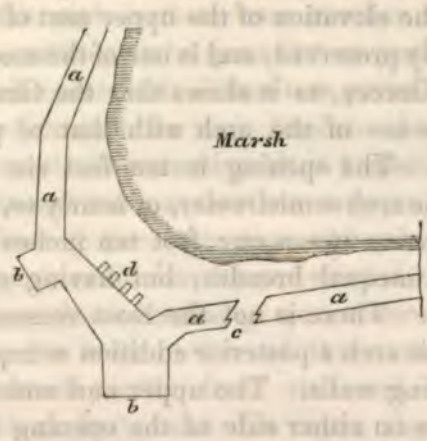
The distance is greater than 100 stades, even in a right line. Strabo is still wider of the truth, as he measures 100 stades from Araxus to the island Doliche, probably the modern Makri.

ἡ μὲν Δολίχα κεῖται κατὰ Οἰνιάδας καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ἀχελῴου διέχουσα Ἀράξου τῆς τῶν Ἠλείων ἄκρας σταδίους ἑκατόν.—Strabo. p. 458.

and accuracy of the workmanship are admirable. stwa of this point, the inclosure falls towards , which extends from hence 5 or 6 miles n(westward to Mount Khalkítza, a rocky, steep, an o(y mountain, which separates these plains | valley of Tragamésti. Next occurs, pro- (n the same direction, a small gate in a retir | e of tl ling to a large cavern in r(at the e walls full of water, ver ar and de ich, the sides of the cavern being perp is inaccessible. My guide from Katokl to me as one of the cisterns of the anci nd adds that there is another on the opp of the hill. An in- exhaustible cist i y is, but entirely the work of nature. e the great marsh is seen extending for ten n s in the direction of Khrysovítzi, where it reaches the hills, which are a continuation of the mountain of Lygovítzi, and which unite westward with Khalkhítza, the mountain already mentioned. About two thirds of the distance from Tríkardho to the eastern end of Khalkítza rises a rocky island resembling the hill of Trikardhó, and equally covered with trees and bushes. On another insulated hill near the north-eastern extremity of the marsh, two or three miles from Paleá Katúna, stands the monastery Lesíni, which gives name to the lake. This island contains vineyards, and the monastery has monóxyla for communicating with the shore, where are its herds, flocks, and cornfields.

The marsh is so full of reeds that the water is scarcely anywhere apparent from Tríkardho, ex-

cept at the foot of the hill itself, where from some large deep pools issue several streams, which, joined by others from the northern part of the marsh, form a large river flowing into the sea at Petalá, and which thus supplied a most convenient water communication from the excellent port of Petalá up to the very walls of the city. Beyond the *cistern* the walls are extant only a few feet above the ground, and the heights are not much above the level of the marsh. Having followed them for a short distance, we arrive at what is called, and I believe justly, τὸ λιμάνι, or the port, the deep water reaching from hence to the sea at Petalá. The annexed delineation represents the form of the walls in this



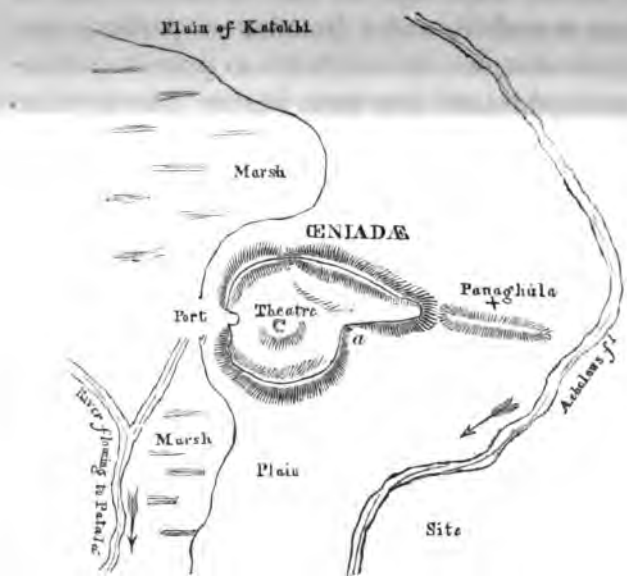
part. Those marked *a a a* are of polygonal masonry; but the towers *b b* are more regular, particularly the larger, of which the outer face is 26 feet long, and still subsists at one angle to the height of 35 feet. It consists of nine regular and equal courses of masonry of two feet and a half each, between the ground, and a narrow projecting

course, which was perhaps at half the height of the tower when it was complete. In the middle of the face of the tower all above the projection has fallen, but towards the angle the courses which completed the tower above the projection remain. These courses are not so regular or equal, as those below the projection. But the most remarkable part of these works is the gate at *c*, which led from the port to the city, and terminated an oblique passage through the wall eight feet long, at the end of which there was a further length of one foot ten inches, where a projection on one side of the passage corresponded to a retiring on the other. Though the passage is ruined, and the gate half buried, the elevation of the upper part of the latter is perfectly preserved, and is one of the most curious ruins in Greece, as it shows that the Greeks combined the use of the arch with that of polygonal masonry. The opening is ten feet six inches in width; the arch semicircular, or nearly so, and composed of nine stones one foot ten inches in thickness, of unequal breadth, but having concentric junctions. There is not the least reason for supposing this arch a posterior addition or repair to the surrounding walls. The upper and under sides of the stones on either side of the opening below the arch are indeed horizontal, which gives the gate a less ancient appearance than the rest of the work; but in polygonal masonry, the angles of the towers, when they occur, which is not frequently, as well as the passages, are generally so constructed: with this exception, all the stones in the gate or near it are either trapezoidal, or have

five or a greater number of unequal sides. About five feet above the top of the arch a quadrangular window, formed by three stones, crowns the ruin, the wall on either side of it having fallen. As this window seems to have been made to give light to the passage, there was probably another similar gate and window at the other end, and the passage perhaps was arched throughout, the soffit of the existing arch being oblique conformably to the direction of the passage. At *d* the rock is cut perpendicularly. In one place above this natural substruction, which is ten feet high, a part of the constructed wall remains, formed of five or six-sided stones mixed with irregular quadrangles, fitted to the rock and to one another, with so uniform a surface, and a junction so perfect, that at a little distance it is difficult to perceive where the wall ends and the rock begins. In another place where the excavated rock is higher, several parallel constructed masses of masonry project from the rock, having the appearance of buttresses; but as no support could have been wanted to such a substruction, the intervening spaces were perhaps receptacles for boats. One of these masses has detached itself bodily from the rock, against which it was built, and lies upon the ground below.

Having quitted the port, my guide conducts me through the woods of veláni to the remains of a theatre which stood near the middle of the ancient city, and commanded a view towards Kurtzolári and the mouth of the *Achelous*. It is difficult to determine its exact dimensions or the

original number of seats, but the diameter at the orchestra appears to have been about eighty feet; there are some foundations of a proscenium projecting forty-five feet, and twenty-five rows of seats still exist cut out of the rock. The ruins and woods of Tríkardho are singularly picturesque, and the fine figures and dresses of the Albanians, as they scramble over the ruins or wind through the woods, furnish most appropriate accompaniments to the scenery. The subjoined sketch will give some idea of the situation if not of the exact form of the city, of which it is impossible to obtain a general view in consequence of the continual obstruction of the trees and broken ground.



At *a* there is a small door crowned with a semicircular arch formed of five stones, and still lower

towards the plain I remarked another door, which, although formed equally on the principle of the arch, has the curve on one side flatter than on the other. Near it is another door, the top of which is formed in the common Hellenic manner, with straight converging sides crowned with a single stone.

The walls in general are from eight to ten or eleven feet thick, filled up in the middle with rough materials and an abundance of mortar. In many parts they form curved instead of right lines, having few towers, but many short flanks; peculiarities which prove the great antiquity of those parts of the work, and lead to the belief that the towers where they exist have been a subsequent addition to the original fortification: an opinion which is also supported by the regular masonry of the towers, and in some places by the mode in which they are connected with the walls. The general use of towers would naturally be accompanied with straight and with longer lines of wall, and evidently belonged to a more advanced stage of the art of defence than that in which curves, or broken lines, or short flanks were used. All the towers which I observed are closed at the back, and project a little from the line of wall within. The lower part of the inclosure towards the *Achelous* seems in general of a later date than the walls on the upper parts of the hill. The circuit appears to me about equal to that of *Calydon*, and not quite so great as that of *Stratus*.

Œneia is one of those cities the name of which

always occurs in history under that of the people, or Œniadæ. Their coins of copper, which bear the head of the tauriform Achelous, and the legend OINIAΔAN, in the Doric dialect, are found in great numbers in the surrounding parts of Greece. The position of Œniadæ comprehended the chief requisites of a Greek city: a plain and lake abounding in the necessaries and luxuries of life; with a height strengthened by that lake, by marshes, and by two rivers, which afforded an easy communication with two points of the coast, at a distance sufficient to leave no fears of surprise from the sea. Compared with such advantages, insalubrity was a consideration of little weight with the Greeks, as many of their ancient sites attest in Asia, Greece, and Italy. In some instances, undoubtedly, the abandonment of the soil has caused the malária, to which drainage and cultivation were anciently a remedy. But it seems impossible that the marshes of Œniadæ could have been drained to any great extent, such is their depth and magnitude. Placed on the right flank of the great line of defence which the Achelous afforded to the Acarnanes against their formidable neighbours of Ætolia, and of which Stratus protected in like manner the left, Œniadæ was of immense importance to the Acarnanian κοινὸν, though its situation at the extremity of that province, in an angle of the maritime plain the greater part of which belonged to Ætolia, and possibly the influence of some possessions on the Ætolian side of the river caused it sometimes to

be politically dissevered from Acarnania or even in alliance with the Ætolians.

Twenty-three years prior to the Peloponnesian war, Œniadæ resisted Pericles, who attempted to reduce it with a small Athenian squadron from Pagæ in the Megaris, and who appears to have been induced to attack it as being the only city in Acarnania which was adverse to the alliance formed soon afterwards between Athens and Acarnania [1]. Its policy was the same in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, when Phormion with the Athenian fleet from Naupactus, made an incursion into Acarnania for the purpose of ejecting the adverse party from Astacus, Stratus, and some other towns, but was deterred by the season from making any attempt upon Œniadæ, which in winter was too well protected by its marshes and inundations. In the following year, his son Asopius, having summoned all the Acarnanes to his assistance, sailed up the Achelous towards Œniadæ with twelve ships from Naupactus; but his expedition had no other result than that of laying waste the territory. It was not until the eighth year of the war that the city was compelled by the other Acarnanes, assisted by the strong fleet which Demosthenes then commanded at Naupactus, to join the Athenian alliance [2].

When the Ætolians had increased their power by the addition of the country afterwards called Ætolia Epictetus, they became too powerful for the

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 111; l. 2, c. 68. Diodor. l. 11, c. 85; l. 12, c. 47.

[2] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 102; l. 3, c. 7; l. 4, c. 77.

Acarnanes, and having taken Œniadæ they expelled the inhabitants, and treated them with such cruelty that they were threatened with the vengeance of Alexander the Great, who was diverted however by more important affairs from ever executing his menace [1]. Under his successors Œniadæ continued to be weak; for Diodorus informs us that in the year B.C. 314, when Cassander marched into Ætolia to the assistance of the Acarnanes, and held a council with them on the river Campylus, in which he recommended them to abandon their minor fortresses and retire into Agrinium, Stratus, and Ithoria, the Œniadæ took refuge in the last of these places [2].

In process of time the Ætolians obtained possession of all the frontier towns of Acarnania, and retained them until they were liberated by Philip son of Demetrius, in the first year of the Social War [3] B. C. 219. At that time Stratus, Phœteiæ, Metropolis, and Œniadæ, were all in the hands of the Ætolians. Philip, after having taken Ambracus in the marshes of Ambracia, marched by Charadra to the Strait of *Actium*, which he crossed at Prévyza. Continuing his march through Acarnania, during which he was joined by 2000 Acarnanian infantry and 200 cavalry, he took the city of Phœteiæ by capitulation after a siege of two days. On the following night he captured or slew 500 Ætolians, who were marching to the relief of the place in ignorance of its having fallen, and then

[1] Diodor. l. 18, c. 8.—Plutarch. in Alexand.

[2] Diodor. l. 19, c. 67.—See Vol. I. p. 156.

[3] Polyb. l. 4, c. 63.

moved into the Stratice, where, encamping upon the Achelous at a distance of ten stades from Stratus, he laid waste the country, without meeting with any resistance. From thence he marched to Metropolis, and having burnt that city, which the Ætolians abandoned on his approach, retiring into the citadel, he then crossed the Achelous, at a distance of twenty stades from Conope, in the face of a body of Ætolian cavalry, who retreated into that city as soon as his infantry had forded the river. The king next attacked Ithoria, a fortress strong both by art and nature, and which stood exactly in his road. The garrison deserted the place as he approached, upon which he levelled it with the ground, giving direction also for all the other castles[1] in the neighbourhood to be destroyed.

Having passed the Straits[2], he met with no further opposition, and could permit his army to supply itself at leisure with every thing which the country afforded. In approaching Œniadæ he took Pæanium which was well built, but only seven stades in circuit; and having totally destroyed it, floated down the materials to Œniadæ. On his approach the Ætolians retired into the citadel but soon deserted it, upon which Philip took possession of the place, and from thence marched into the Calydonia, where he reduced a certain fortress named Elæus, which Attalus had

[1] πύργους.—c. 64.

[2] Διελθὼν δὲ τὰ Στενὰ, τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη βάδην καὶ πραεῖαν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν.—c. 65.

recently strengthened and stored for the use of the Ætolians. After having ravaged the Calydonia, Philip returned to Œniadæ, where he made use of the materials which he had brought from Pæanium to fortify the citadel and arsenal, and to unite the whole in one inclosure. But before he had completed this work, intelligence of a threatened irruption of the Dardani into Macedonia induced him to return home.

In the year B.C. 211, Œniadæ was taken by the Romans, under M. Valerius Lævinus[1], and given up, together with *Nasus* (perhaps Petalá), to the Ætolians, who were then their allies, but it was taken from them and restored to the Acarnanians 22 years afterwards, by the conditions of peace, which were dictated by the senate of Rome at the close of the Ætolian war[2].

From the slight resistance made by the Ætolians to Philip, and his subsequent fortifying of the city, it would seem either that the old Acarnanian fortress had not been very strong, or that the Ætolians had very much neglected its repairs. The harbour which Philip undertook to join to the city when he was interrupted by the news from Macedonia, was probably on the *Achelous*, near the metókhi of Panaghúla, for the narrow inclosure of this part of the town advancing towards the river, seems to indicate that the Œniadæ had a *navale* in that situation. It is scarcely possible to con-

[1] Liv. l. 26, c. 24. Polyb. l. 9, c. 39.

[2] Liv. l. 38, c. 11. Polyb. l. 22, c. 15.

ceive that that which is now called the limáni, although it had a water communication with the harbour of Petalá, could have been the place intended by the historian, as it is immediately under one of the strongest parts of the height, which could not have been excluded from the original fortress, and where the work bears evidence of a remote antiquity.

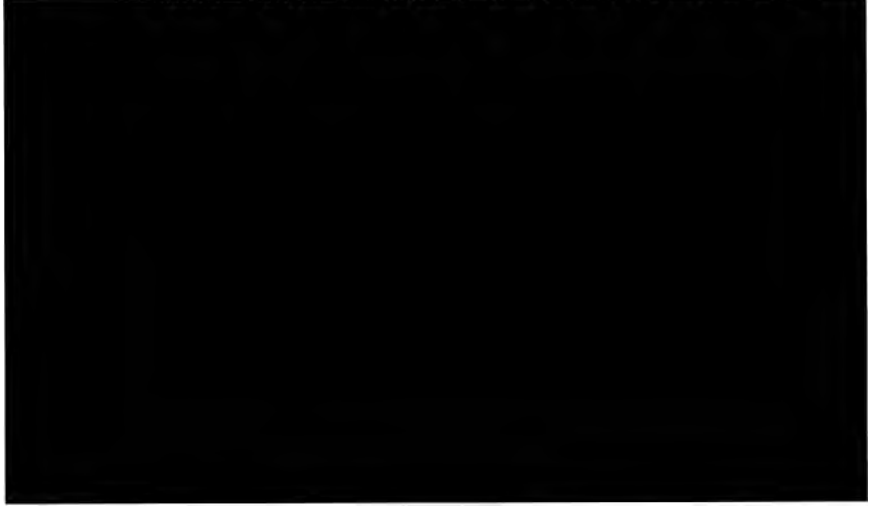
Thucydides in asserting that Œniadæ could not be besieged in winter on account of the marshes, caused by the inundation of the Achelous, seems to afford support to his own opinion as to the rapid accumulation of soil at the mouth of this river[1], since although the present season is nearly that in which the waters are at the highest, there is nothing to prevent an army from marching from Katokhí, and investing the walls in more than half the circumference, whence it would appear that the surrounding plain is more elevated now than it was in ancient times. The increase of

[1] Ὁ γὰρ Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ Πίνδου ὄρους διὰ Δολοπίας καὶ Ἀγραιῶν καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀκαρνανικοῦ πεδίου, ἄνωθεν μὲν παρὰ Στράτον πόλιν, ἐς θάλασσαν διεξιεὶς παρ' Οἰνίαδος καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλιμνάζων, ἄπορον ποιεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν χειμῶνι στρατεύειν. Κεῖνται δὲ καὶ τῶν νήσων τῶν Ἐχινάδων αἱ πολλαὶ καταντικρὺ Οἰνιαδῶν, τοῦ Ἀχελῴου τῶν ἐκβολῶν οὐδὲν ἀπέχουσαι· ὥστε μέγας ὢν ὁ ποταμὸς, προσχοῖ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰσὶ τῶν νήσων αἳ ἠπείρωνται· ἐλπὶς δὲ καὶ πάσας οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ τινι ἂν χρόνῳ τοῦτο παθεῖν· τό τε γὰρ ῥεῦμά ἐστι μέγα καὶ πολὺ καὶ θολερὸν, αἵ τε νῆσοι πυκναὶ καὶ ἄλληλαις τῆς προσχώσεως, τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι, σύνδεσμοι γίγνονται, παραλλὰξ καὶ οὐ κατὰ στοῖχον κείμεναι οὐδ' ἔχουσαι εὐθείας διόδους τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ἔρημοι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οὐ μεγάλαι.—Thucyd. l. 2, c. 102.

recently strengthened and stored for the use of the Ætolians. After having ravaged the Calydonia, Philip returned to Œniadæ, where he made use of the materials which he had brought from Pæanium to fortify the citadel and arsenal, and to unite the whole in one inclosure. But before he had completed this work, intelligence of a threatened irruption of the Dardani into Macedonia induced him to return home.

In the year B.C. 211, Œniadæ was taken by the Romans, under M. Valerius Lævinus [1], and given up, together with *Nasus* (perhaps Petalá), to the Ætolians, who were then their allies, but it was taken from them and restored to the Acarnanians 22 years afterwards, by the conditions of peace, which were dictated by the senate of Rome at the close of the Ætolian war [2].

From the slight resistance made by the Ætolians to Philip, and his subsequent fortifying of the city, it would seem either that the old Acarnanian fortress had not been very strong, or that the Ætolians had very much neglected its repairs. The harbour



ceive that that which is now called the limáni, although it had a water communication with the harbour of Petalá, could have been the place intended by the historian, as it is immediately under one of the strongest parts of the height, which could not have been excluded from the original fortress, and where the work bears evidence of a remote antiquity.

Thucydides in asserting that Œniadæ could not be besieged in winter on account of the marshes, caused by the inundation of the Achelous, seems to afford support to his own opinion as to the rapid accumulation of soil at the mouth of this river[1], since although the present season is nearly that in which the waters are at the highest, there is nothing to prevent an army from marching from Katokhí, and investing the walls in more than half the circumference, whence it would appear that the surrounding plain is more elevated now than it was in ancient times. The increase of

[1] Ὁ γὰρ Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ Πίνδου ὄρους διὰ Δολοπίας καὶ Ἀγραῶν καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀκαρνανικοῦ πεδίου, ἄνωθεν μὲν παρὰ Στράτον πόλιν, ἐς θάλασσαν διεξιεὶς παρ' Οἰνίαδος καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλιμνάζων, ἄπορον ποιεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν χειμῶνι στρατεύειν. Κεῖνται δὲ καὶ τῶν νήσων τῶν Ἐχινάδων αἱ πολλαὶ καταντικρὺ Οἰνιαδῶν, τοῦ Ἀχελῴου τῶν ἐκβολῶν οὐδὲν ἀπέχουσαι· ὥστε μέγας ὢν ὁ ποταμὸς, προσχοῖ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰσὶ τῶν νήσων αἳ ἠπείρωνται· ἐλπὶς δὲ καὶ πάσας οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ τινι ἂν χρόνῳ τοῦτο παθεῖν· τό τε γὰρ ῥεῦμά ἐστι μέγα καὶ πολὺ καὶ θολερὸν, αἵ τε νῆσοι πυκναὶ καὶ ἄλληλαις τῆς προσχώσεως, τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι, σύνδεσμοι γίγνονται, παραλλὰξ καὶ οὐ κατὰ στοῖχον κείμεναι οὐδ' ἔχουσαι εὐθείας διόδους τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ἔρημοι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οὐ μεγάλαι.—Thucyd. l. 2, c. 102.

soil, however, cannot be so rapid as the ancients imagined; indeed, it is obviously slower than at the mouths of many other rivers of Greece. Strabo describes Œniadæ as 70 stades above the mouth of the river[1], which is more than the distance of Trikardho from thence in a direct line; and Pausanias, who wrote six centuries after the Athenian historian, shows the failure of the earlier predictions as to the Echinades, by his remark that they were not yet joined to the continent, which he absurdly endeavours to account for by the desolation of Ætolia[2]. But it is evident that Thucydides was not very well acquainted with the locality. He supposed the marshes around the city to have been caused by the Achelous alone, and takes no other notice of the great expanse of lake or marsh on the northern side of *Œniadæ*, which is permanent, which afforded a much greater protection to the city than the *Achelous*, and which has no connection with that river, being formed entirely by subterraneous springs, and by superficial torrents from the hills, and having an outlet to the sea by a river totally separate from the *Achelous*.

Herodotus goes so far as to state, that half the Echinades had been united to the mainland by the Achelous[3]. The only heights however near the coast, which have any strong appearance of having undergone this change are, one which is

[1] Strabo, p. 459, v. sup. p. 526.

[2] Pausan. Arcad. c. 24.

[3] *καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα Ἀχελῴου· ὃς ῥέων δι' Ἀκαρνανίας, καὶ ἐξιεὶς ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων τὰς ἡμίσεας ἤδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε.* — Herodot. l. 2, c. 10.

separated by a narrow harbour from the island of Petalá, and that of Kurtzolári, similarly situated with respect to Oxía, between which and the southern foot of Kurtzolári is the port of Skrofes, so named from three rocks near the shore, and which is well sheltered from the west by Oxía. There cannot be much doubt that Kurtzolári is the ancient Artemita, which the poet Rhianus couples with the islands Oxeiæ, and which Artemidorus, Demetrius of Scepsis, and Pliny, attest to have been a peninsula in their time[1]. During two thousand years, therefore, the coast has undergone little change, for *Artemita* is a peninsula as it was then, and *Oxeia*, though separated only from the shore by a strait of half a mile, is still an island. The plural form of Thoæ in Homer, and that of Oxeiæ, which

[1] ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμίδωρός φησιν ὅτι χερρόνησος περὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ἀχελῴου ποταμοῦ, λεγομένη Ἀρτέμιτα· . . . . . ἔστι καὶ πλησίον τῶν Ὀξειῶν νήσων νῆσος Ἀρτέμιτα. Ῥιανὸς ἡ Θεσσαλικῶν,

Νήσοις Ὀξείῃσι καὶ Ἀρτεμίτῃ ἐπέβαλλον.

Stephan. in Ἀρτέμιτα.

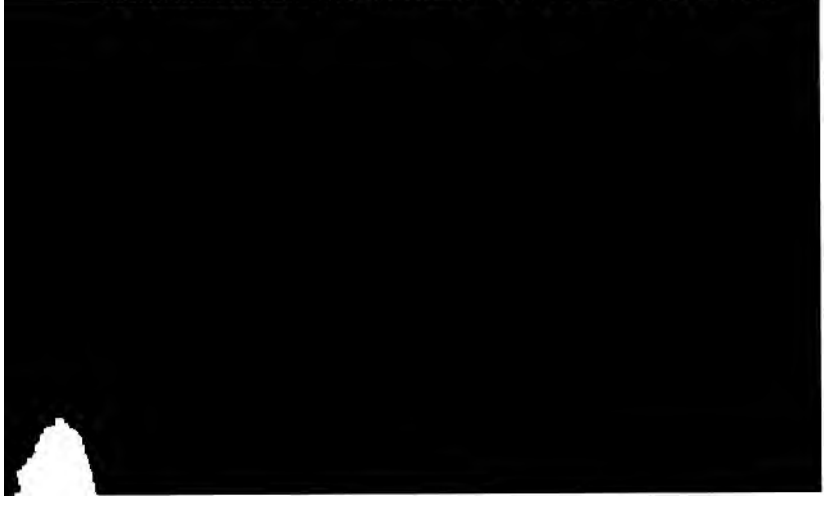
But notwithstanding the distinction of Stephanus, the poet probably alludes to the peninsula Artemita, which tradition recorded to have been once an island.

Καὶ ἡ πρότερον δὲ Ἀρτέμιτα λεγομένη, μία τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων, ἤπειρος γέγονε. Καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον νησίδων τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος φησὶ (Demetrius Scepsius, sc.) παθεῖν, ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσχώσεως τοῦ πελάγους.—Strabo, p. 59.

Amnis Achelous e Pindo fluens, atque Acarnaniam ab Ætoliâ dirimens, et Artemitam insulam assiduo terræ invectu continenti annectens. — Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 2.

continued to the latest period of antiquity, and is even now employed to comprehend Vrómona and Makri as well as Oxía, may possibly have had its origin in the fact of Kurtzolári having once been an island, though it so much resembles an island from the offing, and is so exactly of the same form and nature as the neighbouring Oxía, that they were naturally coupled together in the nomenclature of mariners, and the expression νῆσοι Ὀξεῖαι may easily have obtained, although one of them was a peninsula.

Strabo in stating, without any accompanying remark, the conflicting opinions of Artemidorus and Apollodorus, who wrote about a century before him, as to some of the places on the Ætolian coast, leaves great reason for supposing that he had not himself seen this part of the country. It is not surprising, therefore, that although he may have been generally well informed as to the names and order of the places on or near the shores of Acarnania and Ætolia, he has failed in a more precise description of them. This in particular



lakes he distinguishes four:—1. Melite, or the lake of Œniadæ, which was 30 stades long and 20 broad. 2. Cynia, which was twice as much both in length and breadth. 3. Uria, which was considerably smaller than either. 4. A large lake near Calydon, belonging to the Romans of Patræ. He adds, that Cynia communicated with the sea, but that Melite and Uria were separated from it by land half a stadium in breadth. There are many difficulties in applying this description. In the first place, *Melite*, or the lake of *Œniadæ*, which we cannot suppose to be any other than that of Tríkardho, or Katokhí, is much larger than Strabo asserts, and in his order of places from west to east, it ought to have occurred before instead of after the Achelous. Again, if we suppose "the large lake near *Calydon*" to have been that of Bokhóri, and consequently the lagoon of Anatolikó to have been *Cynia*, and that of Mesolónghi *Uria*, the dimensions which Strabo assigns to Cynia will indeed be tolerably correct, but Uria ought to have been described as much larger instead of smaller than Cynia. Or if we suppose the lagoons of Anatolikó and Mesolónghi, which in fact are but one lake, to have been the *Cynia*, and *Uria* to have been the lagoon of Bokhóri, Strabo's dimensions of Cynia will then be not half the reality; and where in that case are we to look for the lake of Calydon? Upon the whole, setting aside the numbers as being always the most questionable part of the ancient texts, and as relating in this instance to dimensions which may possibly have changed since the

time of Strabo, I am inclined to believe that the marsh of Tríkardho was *Melite*, the lagoon of Anatolikó *Cynia*, that of Mesolónghi *Uria*, and that of Bokhóri the lake of *Calydon*, which belonged to the Romans of Patræ, and which is mentioned by the gastronomic poet Archestratus as producing the labrax in great perfection [1]. It was the same perhaps as the Onthis which Nicander connects with Naupactus Rhypæum and a lofty mountain [2]. The island of Doliche, which Strabo supposed to be the Dulichium of Homer, appears to be the same which now bears the synonymous appellation of Makri, or Makrý, derived from its long narrow form; for it lies exactly as Strabo describes Dolicha, opposite to *Œniadæ* and the mouth of the *Achelous*, though its distance from the promontory Araxus is almost the double of that which he states.

The march of Philip to Œniadæ throws some light on the relative situation of several Acarnanian towns. Phœteiæ, the first which he took, seems evidently to be the same place which in the text of Thucydides is written Phytia. When Eurylochus, the Spartan, whose movements from Delphi through Locris to Proschium in Ætolia I have before had occasion to refer to [3], moved from the latter place towards Amphilochia, he

[1] Ap. Athen. l. 7, c. 17.

[2] Λίπειν' τε κολώνην οἰωνοῦ τε Ῥύπαιον
Ὀνθίᾳ τ' αὖ λίμνην στείχοντες ἴσαν Ναύπακτον.
Nicand. ap. Schol. Nicand. Theriac. v. 214.

[3] See vol. II. p. 615.

crossed the Achelous to the left of Stratus, passed from the territory of Stratus into that of Phytia, then by the frontier of Medeonia into the district of Limnæa, from whence he entered the Agrais[1]. As Stratus was the only city which the Acarnanes had not abandoned, it is highly probable that Eurylochus left it as far on his right as he conveniently could; in this case his route would exactly lie through the valley in which the ruins at Porta are situated. Supposing, therefore, *Limnæa* to have been at Kervasará, we may infer from this passage of Thucydides, that the city which stood at Porta was *Phytia* (*Phœteiæ*), and the ruins near Katúna those of *Medeon*.

And this situation of Medeon accords with the occurrence of its name in history on two other occasions. In the year B. C. 231, the Ætolians

[1] ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντες τὴν Στρατίων πόλιν καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῶν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀκαρνανίαν· καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Στρατίων γῆν, ἐχώρουν διὰ τῆς Φυτίας καὶ αὖθις Μεδεῶνος παρ' ἔσχατα· ἔπειτα διὰ Λιμναίας καὶ ἐπέβησαν τῆς Ἀγραίων, οὐκέτι Ἀκαρνανίας, φιλίας δὲ σφίσι.—Thucyd. l. 3, c. 106.

Stephanus (in Φοιτία) shows that the name is correct in the text of Polybius, for he adds, that it was derived from Phœtius, son of Alcmæon. It is further confirmed by an inscription which I copied at Punta, but from which we learn also that the gentile was not Φοιτιεὺς, as Stephanus and Polybius make it, but Φοιτιᾶν, like Acarnan. Phœtiæ is not to be confounded with Phytæum, which, as I have already remarked (Vol. I. p. 155.) was an Ætolian city, not far from Thermus, lying on the right of the road which led to that city from the ford of the Achelous, near Stratus.

having subdued several towns in Acarnania, but having failed in persuading the Medeonii to join them, laid siege to Medeon, and had reduced it to great distress, when they were suddenly attacked by 5000 Illyrians, sent in ships to the coast near Medeon by Agron, king of Illyria, from whom they had been hired by Demetrius II. king of Macedonia, for this purpose. Landing at break of day, either at Lutráki or at Kervasará, they attacked the Ætolians, and assisted by the Medeonii, defeated them with great slaughter, taking their camp, arms, and baggage [1]. The other occurrence which illustrates the position of Medeon has been already referred to [2]. It happened in the year B. C. 191, when Antiochus marching from Naupactus by Calydon and Lysimachia to Stratus, there met the Ætolians as well as his own army, which had crossed Ætolia from the Maliac gulf. He then proceeded to bring over the Acarnanes, and to attack those who refused to join him. He surprised Medeon, and from thence moved forward to Thyrium, but retired upon hearing of the arrival of the Roman fleet at Leucas [3].

It is probable that Metropolis occupied the hill of Lygovítzi, for the march of Philip seems clearly to show that Metropolis was to the right of the Achelous, nearly opposite to Conope. This situation of *Metropolis*, therefore, accords with those of *Phœteiæ* at Porta, of *Stratus* at Surovígli, and of *Conope* at Anghelókastro. The steepness and

[1] Polyb. l. 2, c. 2.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 153.

[3] Liv. l. 36, c. 11.

altitude of the hill of Lygovitzi explains the king's disinclination to lose any time in attacking the Ætolians, when they retired into the citadel after having abandoned the town, and the ordinary ford of the *Achelous* was exactly in his way from thence to *Conope*.

Ithoria having stood below *Conope* in the στενὰ, or straits of the *Achelous*, which were formed on one side by the extremity of Mount Zygós, and on the other by the heights and forest of Mánina, probably stood at or near St. Elias, nearly opposite to the ruined town at Paleá Mani; I have been informed, indeed, that some vestiges of a Hellenic fortress actually exist at St. Elias. *Pæanium* I conceive to have been the ancient site between Mastú and the Aspro. Although Polybius does not remark that Philip recrossed the Achelous between Conope and Œniadæ, it is evident that he must have done so, Œniadæ having been upon the right or Acarnanian bank of the river, and the Macedonians having, as Polybius distinctly asserts, crossed it between Metropolis and Conope. But the historian is equally silent as to a third passage of the river, which was unavoidable when Philip proceeded from Œniadæ to the Calydonia.

The *Achelous* below Katokhí flows for the distance of two miles in the direction of Kurtzolári, and then takes the turn towards Petalá, in which it approaches Tríkardho; from thence it again bends towards Kurtzolári, and joins the sea about two miles to the north of Oxía and the entrance

of the channel between that island and Kurtzolári. The plain which extends from Tríkardho to the sea, consists of fertile soil, and though not marshy, except in some places near the shore, is very little cultivated.

END OF VOL. III.

GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE, LONDON.

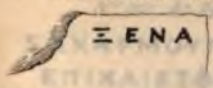
Pl. XXIV

Doiran
41°
Tekeli
Kulakia
Chalastra
C. Atheridha
40°
Enipeus C.
Apilas C.
R. Salamvria
(Peneius)
MAGNESIA

Doirán
Tauriana
Heraclea
Tekeli
Stagira
Acanthus
Athos
Thasos
Strymon
Pieria
Olympus
Pydna
Thessalonica
Apollonia
Amphipolis
Pangæus
Philippi
Neapolis
Abdera
Thasos
Samothrace
Imbros
Lemnos
Tenedos
Troas
Ida
Scamander
Sigeum
Rhœteum
Dardanelles
Gallipoli
Sea of Marmora
Propontis
Cyzicus
Artaki
Lampsacus
Parium
Priapus
Abydos
Sestos
Ægospotami
Chersonesus
Cardia
Melas
Hellespont
Ægean Sea
Archipelago
Thessaly
Macedonia
Thrace
Epirus
Illyria
Dardania
Mœsia
Bithynia
Phrygia
Mysia
Lydia
Ionia
Æolis
Caria
Pisidia
Lycaonia
Galatia
Cappadocia
Pontus
Paphlagonia
Armenia
Colchis
Iberia
Albania
Mesopotamia
Assyria
Babylonia
Susiana
Persia
Media
Parthia
Hyrcania
Carmania
Gedrosia
Arachosia
Aria
Margiana
Bactriana
Sogdiana
Scythia
Caucasus
Euxine
Caspian Sea
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Arabia
Egypt
Nile
Ethiopia
Libya
Cyrenaica
Africa
Carthage
Numidia
Mauritania
Gaetulia
Atlas
Sahara
Fezzan
Garamantes
Nasamones
Lotophagi
Syrtis Major
Syrtis Minor
Gulf of Sidra
Mediterranean Sea
Sicily
Sardinia
Corsica
Italy
Rome
Latium
Campania
Samnium
Apulia
Calabria
Lucania
Bruttium
Etruria
Umbria
Picenum
Gaul
Liguria
Cisalpine Gaul
Transalpine Gaul
Aquitania
Belgica
Germania
Rhine
Danube
Alps
Pyrenees
Spain
Iberia
Lusitania
Baetica
Tarraconensis
Gades
Tagus
Ebro
Guadalquivir
Balearic Islands
Britannia
Ocean
Hercynian Forest
Vistula
Sarmatia
Dacia
Pannonia
Noricum
Rhætia
Vindelicia
Illyricum
Dalmatia
Epirus
Achaia
Peloponnesus
Sparta
Corinth
Athens
Thebes
Delphi
Olympia
Argos
Mycenæ
Crete
Cyprus
Rhodes
Cos
Cnidus
Halicarnassus
Miletus
Ephesus
Smyrna
Pergamum
Sardis
Colophon
Lesbos
Chios
Samos
Tyre
Sidon
Jerusalem
Jericho
Dead Sea
Jordan
Damascus
Palmyra
Antioch
Seleucia
Tarsus
Issus
Cilicia
Euphrates
Tigris
Babylon
Ctesiphon
Susa
Persepolis
Ecbatana
Nineveh
Arbela
Gaugamela
Issus
Granicus
Troy
Ilium
Alexandria
Memphis
Thebes
Pelusium
Canopus
Nile Delta
Cataracts
Meroe
Axum
Adulis
Berenice
Myos Hormos
Coptos
Arsinoe
Heroopolis
Suez
Sinai
Mount Casius
Mount Ida
Mount Olympus
Mount Pelion
Mount Ossa
Mount Parnassus
Mount Helicon
Mount Cithæron
Mount Taygetus
Mount Erymanthus
Mount Lycæus
Mount Ithome
Mount Pindus
Mount Athos
Mount Haemus
Mount Rhodope
Mount Orbelus
Mount Scardus
Mount Hæmus
Mount Carpathus
Mount Taurus
Mount Amanus
Mount Lebanon
Mount Hermon
Mount Sinai
Mount Horeb
Mount Nebo
Mount Gerizim
Mount Ebal
Mount Tabor
Mount Carmel
Mount Hermon
Mount Lebanon
Mount Amanus
Mount Taurus
Mount Casius
Mount Ida
Mount Olympus
Mount Pelion
Mount Ossa
Mount Parnassus
Mount Helicon
Mount Cithæron
Mount Taygetus
Mount Erymanthus
Mount Lycæus
Mount Ithome
Mount Pindus
Mount Athos
Mount Haemus
Mount Rhodope
Mount Orbelus
Mount Scardus
Mount Hæmus
Mount Carpathus
Mount Taurus
Mount Amanus
Mount Lebanon
Mount Hermon
Mount Sinai
Mount Horeb
Mount Nebo
Mount Gerizim
Mount Ebal
Mount Tabor
Mount Carmel
Mount Hermon
Mount Lebanon
Mount Amanus
Mount Taurus
Mount Casius
Mount Ida
Mount Olympus
Mount Pelion
Mount Ossa
Mount Parnassus
Mount Helicon
Mount Cithæron
Mount Taygetus
Mount Erymanthus
Mount Lycæus
Mount Ithome
Mount Pindus
Mount Athos
Mount Haemus
Mount Rhodope
Mount Orbelus
Mount Scardus
Mount Hæmus
Mount Carpathus
Mount Taurus
Mount Amanus
Mount Lebanon
Mount Hermon
Mount Sinai
Mount Horeb
Mount Nebo
Mount Gerizim
Mount Ebal
Mount Tabor
Mount Carmel
Mount Hermon
Mount Lebanon
Mount Amanus
Mount Taurus

W. M. Leake

N°. 106. At Aito - Ithaca.



N°. 107. At the same Place.

ΑΜΥΝΤΑΣ

N°. 108. Near Melánydhro, Oxoí - Ithaca.

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΕ

ΧΑΙΡΕ

N°. 109. At the same Place.

ΣΕΠΤΟΥ
ΜΕ-ΜΟΥΣΙ
ΚΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ

N°. 110. At Oxoí - Ithaca.

ΜΟΛΩΤΑ

ΧΑΙΡΕ

N°. 111. At the same Place.

ΕΛΑΦΙ ΕΛΑΦΙ
ΛΑΜΙΣΚΕΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ

N°. 112. At the Monastery of St. Taxiarches - near Oxoí.

ΑΓΗΜΟΝΙΔΑ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

N°. 113. Near Oxoí.

N°. 114. At Kyparissia, in the plain of Vátika. (Moréa.)

N°. 115. At Kastro, in Milo.

N°. 116. At the Monastery of St. Elias, near Kastro.

N°. 117. At Parikía in Paros, on a Piece of Architrave, in the Wall of the Castle.

ΛΗΡΩΣΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝΑΡΧΟΝΤΟCΜΕΝ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N°118. At Parikia.

ΣΩΧΑΡΜΟΥΠΑΡΑΠ
ΕΠΙΚΑΙΕΣΦΘΙΜΕΝΟΥ
ΕΙΓΑΡΚΑΙΠΑΥΡΑΣΕΙΙ
ΑΞΙΟΣΑΙΝΕΙΣΘΑΙΠ
ΟΡΦΑΝΑΜΕΝΜΟΙΡΑΙΣ
ΚΕΙΣΘΩΠΑΙΣΧΡΟΝΟ

On the same Stone, below an upright Figure in a Temple or Shrine, to the left of which is a leebisternium and the following:

ΕΥΘΕΤΟΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΡΟΝΟΟΙΡΩΣ.ΕΙΩΣΑΣ

N°119. At Parikia.

ΝΙΚΗΡΑΤΟΣ
ΑΛΚΑΙΟΥ

N°120. At Parikia.

ΗΔΙΚΤΗΣ

N°122. *In the Quarry of St Mina in Paros under a Sculpture in the Rock.*

ΑΔΑΜΑΣ
ΟΔΡΥΣΗΣ
ΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ

N°121. At Parikia.

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΙΜΗΣΑΝ
ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΝΕΠΙΝΙΚΟ
ΧΡΥΣΩΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙΚΑΙΕΙΚΟΝΙΜΑΡΜΑΡΙΝΗΙ

N°123. *At Vatopédhi (Mount Athos) in the Church.*

ΗΡΩΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ
ΓΥΝΗΔΕΑΣΤΥΚΡΕΟΝΤΟΣ
ΤΟΥΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ

ΑΣΤΥΚΡΕΩΝ

N°124. *At Vatopédhi, on a Soros.*

ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟϹΗΡΑΚΛΑΔΙΟΝΥϹΙΛΔΙΟΝΥ
ϹΙΟΥΗϹΥΝΒΙΩΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩΖΩΝΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΤΟΛΜΗ
ϹΕΙΕΤΕΡΟϹΑΝΟΙΣΑΙΗΚΑΤΑΘΕϹΘΑΙΕΤΕΡΟΝ
ΔΩϹΕΙΠΡΟϹΤΕΙΜΟΥΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩ✳ΒΚΑΙΤΗΠΟΛΕΙ✳Β
ΕΤΟΥϹ·ΑΝΤΜΗΝΟϹΠΑΝΗΜΟΥ·Β

On the same monument.

DIIS MANIBVS
PMARRONIPFVOL·NARCISSI
AED.PHIL·ANXLMARRONIARE
IRMINA··TRIEC

N°125. At Neakhoria (Amphipolis.)

ΕΔΟΞΕΝΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙΦΙ
ΛΩΝΑΚΑΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΚΛΕ
ΑΦΕΟΓΕΙΝΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙ
ΝΚΑΙΤΗΓΓΗΝΤΩΝΑΜΦ
ΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝΑΕΙΦΥΓΙ
ΗΝΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΚΑΙΤΟΣ
ΠΑΙΔΑΣΚΑΙΗΜΠΟΑΛ.
ΣΚΩΝΤΑΙΠΑΣΧΕΙΝΑΥ
ΤΟΣΩΣΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΣΚΑΙ
ΝΗΠΟΙΝΕΙΤΕΘΝΑΝΑΙ
ΤΑΔΕΧΡΗΜΑΤΑΥΤΩΝΔ
ΗΜΟΣΙΑΕΙΝΑΙΤΟΔΕΠ
ΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΝΙΡΟΝΤΟΥΑ
ΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΤΟΣΤΡ
ΥΜΟΝΟΣΤΟΣΔΕΠΡΟΣΤ
ΑΤΑΣΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΑΥΤ
ΟΣΕΣΤΗΛΗΝΛΙΘΙΝΗΝ
ΗΝΔΕΤΙΣΤΟΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ
ΑΝΑΨΗΦΙΣΕΙΗΚΑΤΑΔ
ΕΧΕΤΑΙΤΟΥΤΟΣΤΕΧΝ
ΗΙΗΜΗΧΑΝΗΙΟΤΕΩΙΟ
ΝΤΑΧΡΗΜΑΤΑΥΤΟΔΗΜ
ΟΣΙΑΕΣΤΩΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΣ
ΦΕΟΓΕΤΩΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΝ
ΑΕΙΦΥΓΙΗΝ

N°127. At Khaivát.

ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣΑΜΥΝΤΑΚΑΙ
ΛΥΣΩΝΝΑΟΥΓΙΑΔΟΥ
ΚΑΙΟΙΕΤΑΙΡΟΙ
ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΟ
ΑΝΤΙΦΙΛΗΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟ
ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ.ΣΜΑΒΑΙΘΟΝ
ΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΤΤΙΝΑΣ
ΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΣ. ΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ
ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙ.. ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟ
ΠΑΛΟΣ. . . . . ΛΑΣ
. . ΜΗΤΡΙΟΣΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟ
. . ΤΙΓΟΝΟΣΑΛΚΕΤΑΣ
. . ΙΓΟΝΟΣΕΥΘΥΜ . . ΔΗΣ
. . ΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΣΙΡΡΑΣ
. . ΙΜΕΝΗΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ
. . ΑΙΟ. ΑΣ. . ΓΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
ΔΑΙΟΣ ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΣ

N°126. At Serres, in the Metropolis.

ΟΙΝΕΟΙ

ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΚΑΙΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΝ
ΤΟΥΚΟΙΝΟΥΛΥΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΔΕΚΑΙΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΝ
ΚΑΙΤΗCΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΠΑΛΕΩC
ΠΡΩΤΟΝΔΕΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΝΤΗC
CΙΡΡΑΙΩΝΠΟΛΕΩCΔΙCΕΚΤΩ
ΙΔΙΩΝ ΓΥΜΝΑCΙΑΡΧΟΝ
ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝΔΙΟΓΕΝΟCΥΟ
ΚΥΡΙΝΑΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΑΡΕΤΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝ
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟC.. ΚΑCΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΟΥΚΑCΑΝΔΡΟΥ

J. Netherclift Lithog

N°128. *In Saloniki, at a Fountain near the gate of the Eski, Mitropoli.*

ΟΥΝΔΟΣΚΑΙΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡ
ΔΟΥΤΟΥΛΕΥΚΙΟΥΕΑΥΤΟ
ΔΩΤΩΛΕΥΚΙΟΥΚΑΘΩΣΔ

N°129. *At Saloniki, at the Metropolis, said to have been brought from Khaivát.*

ΛΕΟΝΤΙΚΑΙΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΙΣΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ
ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΕΙΚΗΚΑΙΝΕΙΚΟΛΑΟΣΑΥΤΩΙ

N°130. *At Saloniki, in the Gardens to the westward of the Town.*

Λ·ΒΕΝΟΥΛΕΙΩ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ
ΒΕΝΕΛΕΙΑ
ΗΓΗΩΗΘΥΓ
ΑΤΗΡΤΩΠΑΤΡΙ
ΜΝΕΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

N°131. *At Saloniki.*

ΖΩΣΙΜΗΑΙΔΙΑ
ΜΩΜΩΗΙΔΙΑ
ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΕΚΤΩ
ΝΕΑΥΤΗΣ
ΜΝΕΙΑΣΧΑ
ΡΙΝ

N°132. *At Saloniki.*

ΤΗΦΙΛΑΝΔΡΩΚΑΙΓΛΥ
ΚΥΤΑΤΗΣΥΝΒΙΩΕΠΙΚΤΗ
ΣΕΙΑΠΟΔΗΜΙΟΣΕΚΤΩΝ
ΚΟΙΝΩΝΚΟΠΩΝΚΑΙΕΑΥ
ΤΩΖΩΝ

N°133. *At Saloniki.*

ΓΠΕΤΡΩΝΙΟΣ
ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣΓ·ΠΕΓΡΩ
ΝΙΩΚΡΗΣΚΕΝΤΙ
ΗΡΩΙ

Above is a Horseman, and higher on the Stone a Head seen in front.

N°134. *At Saloniki.*

ΛΦΑΒΙΟΣΖΩ
ΣΙΜΟΣΛΟΥ
ΚΙΩΦΑΒΙΩ
ΖΩΣΙΜΩΜ
ΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙ
ΝΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩ
ΖΩΝ

N°135. *At Saloniki.*

ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΣ
ΔΝ ΔΡΩΝΙ
ΣΑΡΜΑΤΗ
ΙΔΙΩ
ΑΓΑΘΩ
ΕΤΩΝΚ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N° 137. At Saloniki.

. . . . . .

. . . . . ΔΙΛΙΩΝ·Α . . . ΝΤΕΙΝΩΡΟΥΦΩ·ΚΑΙΜ . . . Π.ΛΛΙΩΠΙ . . . . .

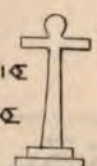
.ΚΑΛΛΑΝΔΩΝΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΩΝΑΓΩΝΕΠΕΞΕΛΕϹΘΗΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟϹΟΘΕΜΑΤΙΚ . . .

.ΥϹΙΟΙϹ·Γ·ΟΥΙΒΙΟΥΛΕΠΙΔΟΥ·ΑΧΙΛΛΞΘΕ ΜΕΤΑΘΥϹΙΑϹΤΑΥΡΟΥΚΑΙΜΕΤΑΘΥϹ . . .

. Ν·Β̄·ΕΠΙΒΩΜΟΥΣ·Β̄·ΥΠΟΙΕΡΘΕΑΛΠΙΚΤΗΝϹΕΥΗΡΟΝΙΕΡΑΚΘΕΚΑϹϹΑΝΔΡΕΑ . . . .

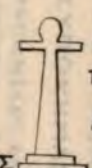
. ΧΙΟΝ·ΚΑΙΙΕΡΟΚΗΡΥΚΑ·Κ·ΚΑΙΚΙΛΙΟΝ·ΚΑΛΛΙϹΤΟΝ·ΟΙΑΓΩΝΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ

ΠΑΙΔΕϹΠΑΛΑΙϹΤΑΙ
ΕΥΦΡΑΙΝΩΝΚΑΙΛΟΥΚΙΘΕ
ΑΚΡΑΤΘΕΚΑΙΖΩϹΙΜΘΕ
ΜΥΡΩΝΚΑΙϹΩϹΙΑϹ



ΠΑΙΔΕϹΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΑϹΤΑΙ
ΜΑΡΚΟϹΚΑΙΜΑΞΙΜΟϹ
ϹΥΜΦΟΡΘΕΚΑΙΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΘΕ

ΑΓΕΝΕΙΩΝΠΑΛΗ
ΦΑΥΣΤΘΕΚΑΙΔΩΡΘΕ
ΑΓΕΝΕΙΟΙΠΑΝΚΡΑ
ΟΥΑΛΗϹΚΑΙϹΕΚΟΥΝΔΘΕ



ΑΝΔΡΩΝΠΑΛΗ
ΠΡΩΤΑϹΚΑΙΕΡΜΗϹ
ΑΝΔΡΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑΤ
ΝΕΚΗΦΟΡΘΕΚΑΙΗΛΙΘΕ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N° 136. At the Skala of Saloniki.

(The beginning is obliterated.)

. . . . . .

ΤΟΥΤΟΓΑΡΕΝΖΩΟΙΣΙΝΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΝΕΣΚΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ
ΕΙΝΕΚΕΝΗΣΑΡΕΤΗΣΚΑΙΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣΜΑΛΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ
ΤΕΥΞΕΔΕΤΟΝΔΕΤΑΦΟΝΦΙΛΙΟΣΠΟΣΙΣΕΥΤΡΟΠΟΣΑΥΤΗ
ΟΙΤΑΥΤΩΜΕΤΟΠΙΣΘΕΝΟΠΩΣΕΧΟΙΑΜΠΑΥΕΣΘΑΙ
ΣΥΝΦΙΛΙΗΞΥΝΩΣΑΛΟΧΩΚΕΚΛΩΣΜΕΝΟΝΑΥΤ
ΤΕΡΜΕΣΙΔΩΝΒΙΟΤΟΥΑΛΥΤΟΙΣΥΠΟΝΗΜΑΣΙΜΟ

ΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΕΤΕΡΟΝΤΟΛΜΗΣΗΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΘΑΙΜΕΤΑΤΟΕΜΕΚΑΤ...ΘΗΝΑΙΧΩΡΙΣΤΩΝΤΕΚΝΩΝ
ΔΩΣΕΙΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΝ . . . ✱ ΜΝ ΛΒ . . . . . ΕΤΑΚΕΙΝΗ *end of the first line.*

N° 138. At Vodhená – over the gate of the Metrópolis.

ΑΓΑΘΗΙΤΥΧΗΙ

ΕΤΟΥϹ ΗΚ·ΤΟΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ
ΕΦΗΒΩΝΤΩΝΕΦΗΒΕΥϹΑΝ
ΤΩΝΥΠΟΛΥϹΙΜΑΧΟΝΑΒ.
ΔΙΑΝΟΥΤΟΝΕΦΗΒΑΡΧΟΝ
ΚΑΤΑΤΟΔΟΓΜΑΤΗϹΒΟΥΛΗϹ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟϹϹΕΡΗΝΟϹ.ΔΟ.ΚΟΥ·ΚΟΙΝΤΟϹ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟϹΚΑΙΕΙΟΥΛΙΟϹΟΪΜΑΡΚΙΑϹ
ΟΥΛΠΙΟϹΔΟΜΙΤΙΟϹΕΛΠΙΔΗΦΟΡΟϹ
ΕΥΤΥΧΙΩΝΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΟΥ·ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟϹ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟϹΠΑΠΑ ΔΡΩΒΥΟϹ
ΖΩΠΥΡΟϹΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΟΥΕϹΠΕΡΟ.ϹΕΜΕΛΗϹ
.ΟΥΛ·ϹΚΑΛΛΙϹΤΗϹ.ΚΛ·ΦΙΛΟΜΕΝΟϹ
ϹΑΤΟΡΝΙΝΟϹΗΔΕΑϹΦΙΛΗΤΟϹΦΑΡΙΩΝΟ
ΦΗΛΙΞΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΥ
ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟϹΚΑΙΙΟΥΛΙϹΚΑΙΑΚΥΛΑϹΟΙΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ

ΓΑΙΟϹΚΑΙΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟϹΟΙΓΑΙΟΥ
ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟϹΑϹΚΛΗΠΑ

N° 139. At Vodhená – Fragments in the Metropolitan Church.

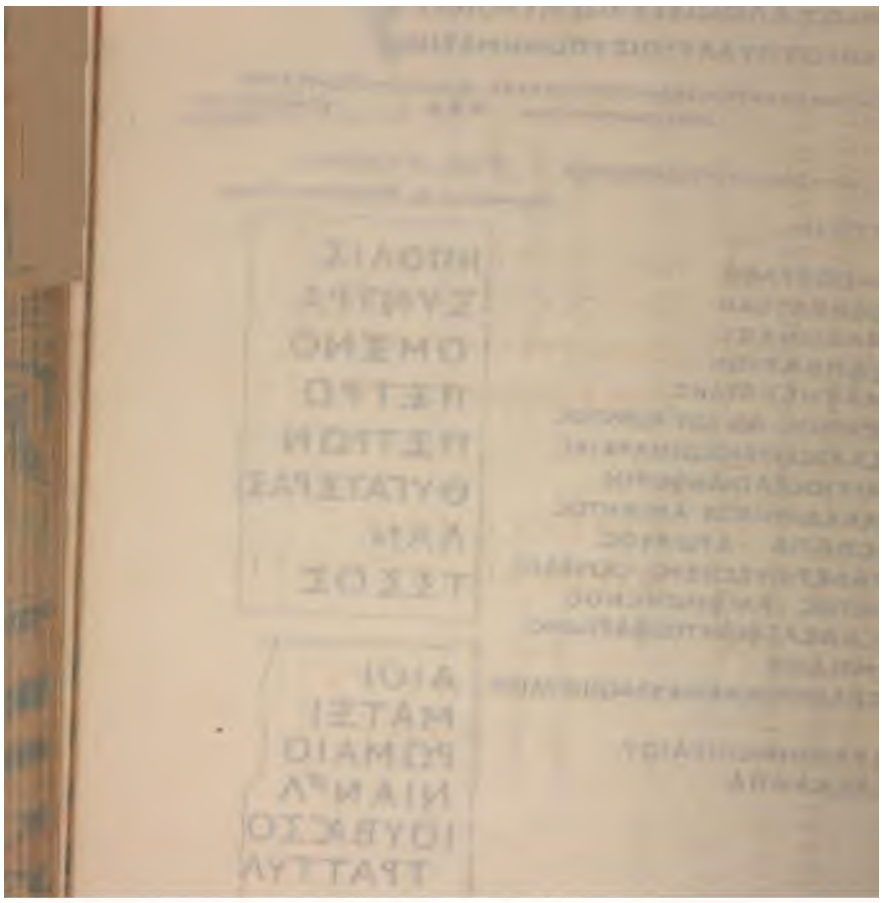
ΗΠΟΛΙΣ
ΣΥΝΤΡΑ
ΟΜΞΝΟ
ΠΞΤΡΩ
ΠΞΤΡΩΝ
ΘΥΓΑΤΞΡΑΣ
ΛΑΝ
ΤΣΣΟΣ

ΑΙΟΙ
ΜΑΤΞΙ
ΡΩΜΑΙΟ
ΝΙΑΝΟΛ
ΙΟΥΒΑϹΣΟ
ΤΡΑΤΤΥΛ
ΤΙΜΩΝ
ΟΙΣ

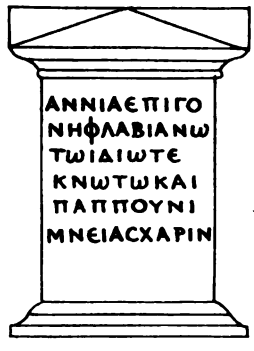
N° 141. At Vérria – a Fragment in the Wall of the ruined Castle.

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ . . . . . ΠΟΠΙΛΛΙΟΝ
ϹΟΥΜΜΟΝΝΞΩΤΞΡΟΝ

J. Netherclift Lithog.



N°142. At Vérria, in a Turkish Cemetery, below the Town.



N°140. At Vodhená, on a Sarcophagus, at a Fountain.

ΧΑΙΡΕΓΡΑΦΙΚΕ
ΤΟΥΔΕΛΑΧΕΙΝΤΥΜΒΟΥΓΗΡΑΦCΕΥΤΕΤΥΧΟΙ
ΕΥΞΑΤΟΔΑΥΜΑΚΑΚΑΡΕCCΙΚΑΙΕΙΜΕΡΤΗΝΠΑΡΑΚΟΙΤΙΝ
ΠΡΩΤΑΦΕΡΩΝΠΙΝΥΤΗΕΚΥΔΟCΕΚΑΡΠΙCΑΤΟ
ΟΥΝΕΚΕΝΗΝΠΑΝΑΡΙCΤΟCΕΝΗΓΑΦΕΦΙΛΔΕΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΙC
ΦΗΚΕΦΟCΠΕΔΙΟΝ
ΗΔΕΠΕΤΡΟCΚΕΥΦΕΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΥΔΕΜΑΕΕ[illegible]ΑΡΩΝΔΕΦΨΥΧΗΝΦΕCΠΕCΙΗΝ

N°144. At Kózani, at the Bishop's Residence, on a pedestal.

ΚΡΙCΠΟCΜΕΤΑΤΗC
ΓΑΤΡΟCΚΡΙCΤΕΙΝΑC
ΖΩΝΕΤΙΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΝ
ΤΥΜΒΙΟΝΦΙΛΑΝΔΡΙΑΕΝΕΚΝ

The following is repeated on two sides of the pedestal.

ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕΗΡΩΕC
ΧΙΡΕΚΑΙCΥΚΕΥΟΔΕΙ

N°145. At Turnavo.

ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΑ
ΜΕΝΙΟΥ

N°143. At Vérria, similarly placed as N°142.

ΠΟΡΟCΑΜΜΙΑCϚΓ·CΚΙΡΤΙΩΑΓΑ°...Α
ΥΙΩΚΑΙ°CΚΙΡΤΑΝΖΩCΙΜΗΝΗΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ
CΑΝΤΑCCΕΜΝΩC ϚΗΡΩΑC

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N°. 146. At Túrnavo – at the Metropolis.

ΑΠΛΟΥΝΙΚΕΡΔ · ΙΟΥΣΟΥΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ
ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΙΔΑΙΟΣΟΘΥΤΑΣ
ΟΝΕΘΕΙΚΕΙΕΡΟΜΝΑΜΟΝΕΙ
ΣΑΣΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΔΑΥΧΝΑΦΟΡΕΙΣΑΣ

N°. 147. At one of the Villages called Tatári.

ΑΠΛΟΥΝΙΤΕΜΠΕΙΤΑ
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΙΣΣΑΤΥΡΟΙ
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ

Form of the Marble.

N°. 148. At another of the Villages called Tatári.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΛΛΑΡΕΙΣΑΙΩΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΑΜΥΝΑ . . . . . .
ΤΟΝΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΝΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ

N°. 150. At Hagilar, in the wall of the Church-yard.

ΕΡΜΑΟ ΧΘΟΝΙΟΥ

N°. 151. At Hagilar, in the Church-yard, on a handsome Pedestal.

ΝΙΚΑΣΙΠΠΟΣ
ΝΙΚΟΥΝΕΙΟΣ

N°. 153. At Túrnavo.

ΟΙΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΙΠΕΙΡΑΙΩΝ
ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΙΔΟΥΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ
ΛΙΤΗΝΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣΑΝΤΑ

N°. 152. At Ghúnitza, in a Church.

ΜΕΛΕΤΗ
ϹΩϹΙΟΥΤΟ
ΥΙΔΙΟΥΑΝ
ΔΡΟϹΚΟΡΙ
ΚΟΥΜΝΗ
ΜΗϹΧΑΡΙ
ΝΗΡΩϹΧΑΙΡΕ

N°. 154. On the face of the Rock, in the pass of Babá.

L CASSIVS LONGIN
PRO COS
TEMPE MVNIVIT

N°. 155. At Malathriá, a Fragment.

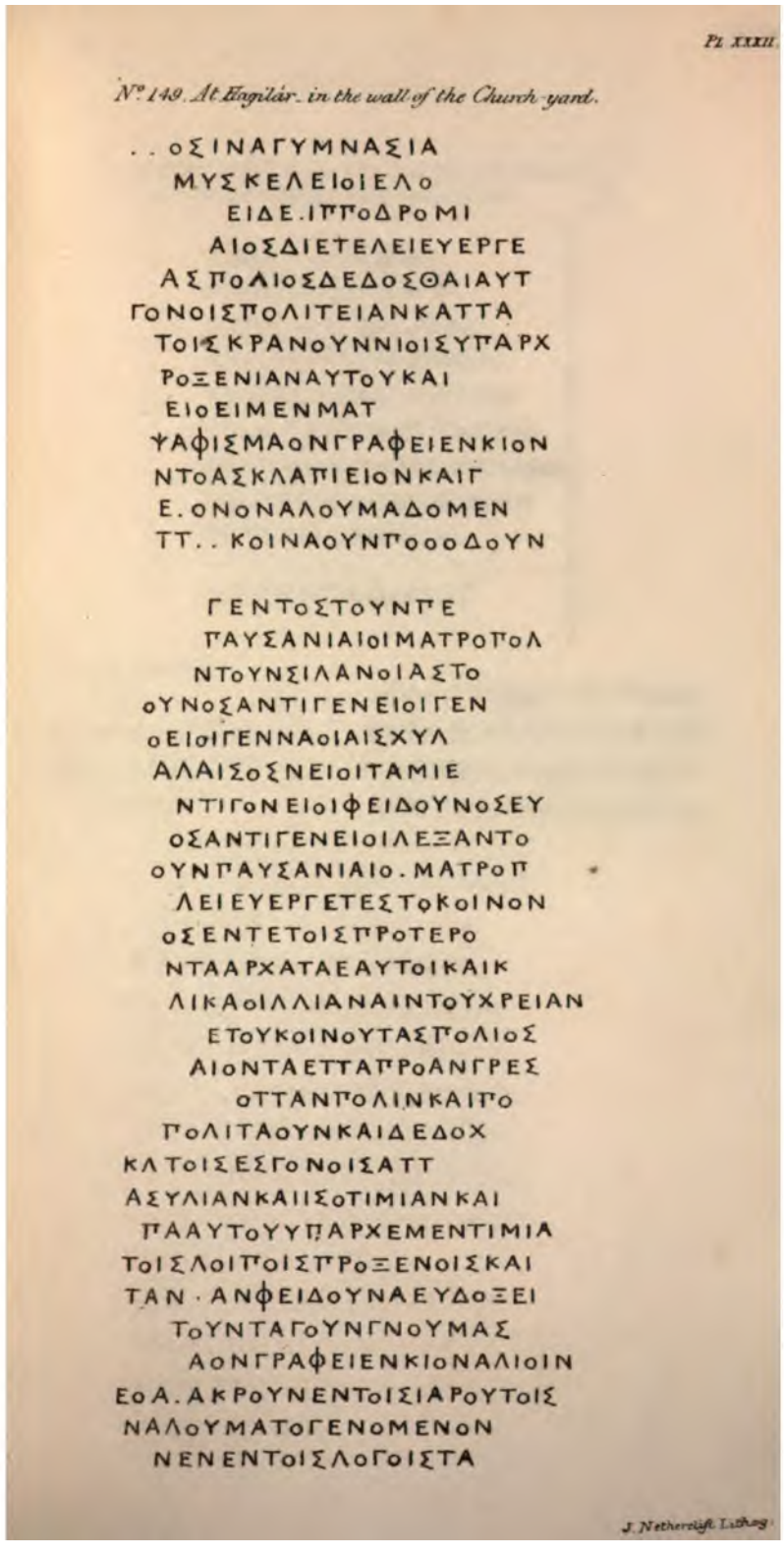
ΕΡΩϹΚΑΙΡΩ
ΘΕΡΝΙΤΗΝ
ΠΑΤΡΙ

N°. 156. At Kutjuk – Ayán, in the wall of a Church.

ωφελι
ωνωφε
λιωνιτω
πατριμνει
ασχαριν

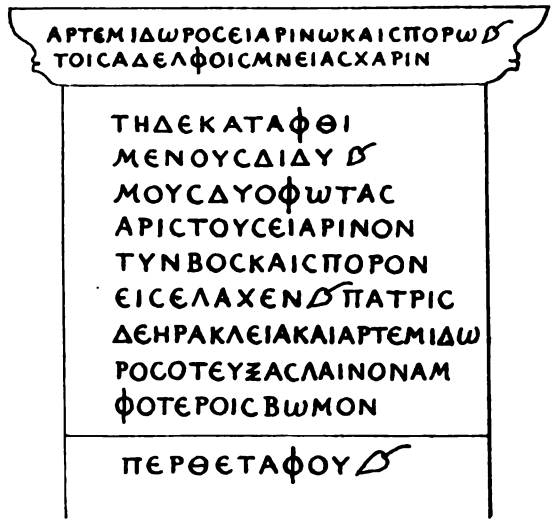
J. Netherclift Lithog:

N°. 149. At Engilár. in the wall of the Church-yard.

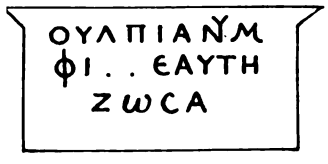


J. Netherclift Lithog.

N°. 157. At Kitro.

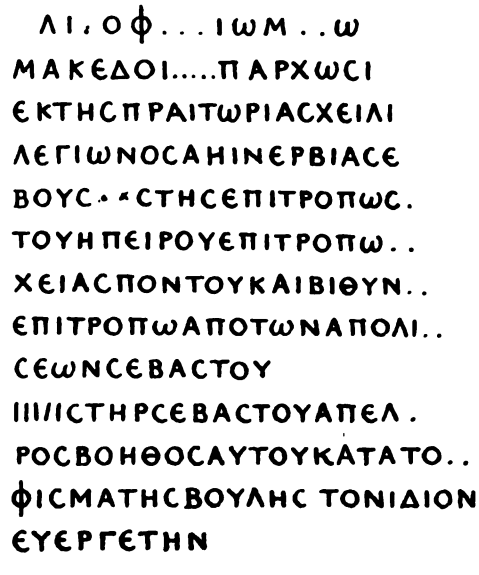


N°. 158. At Kitro.



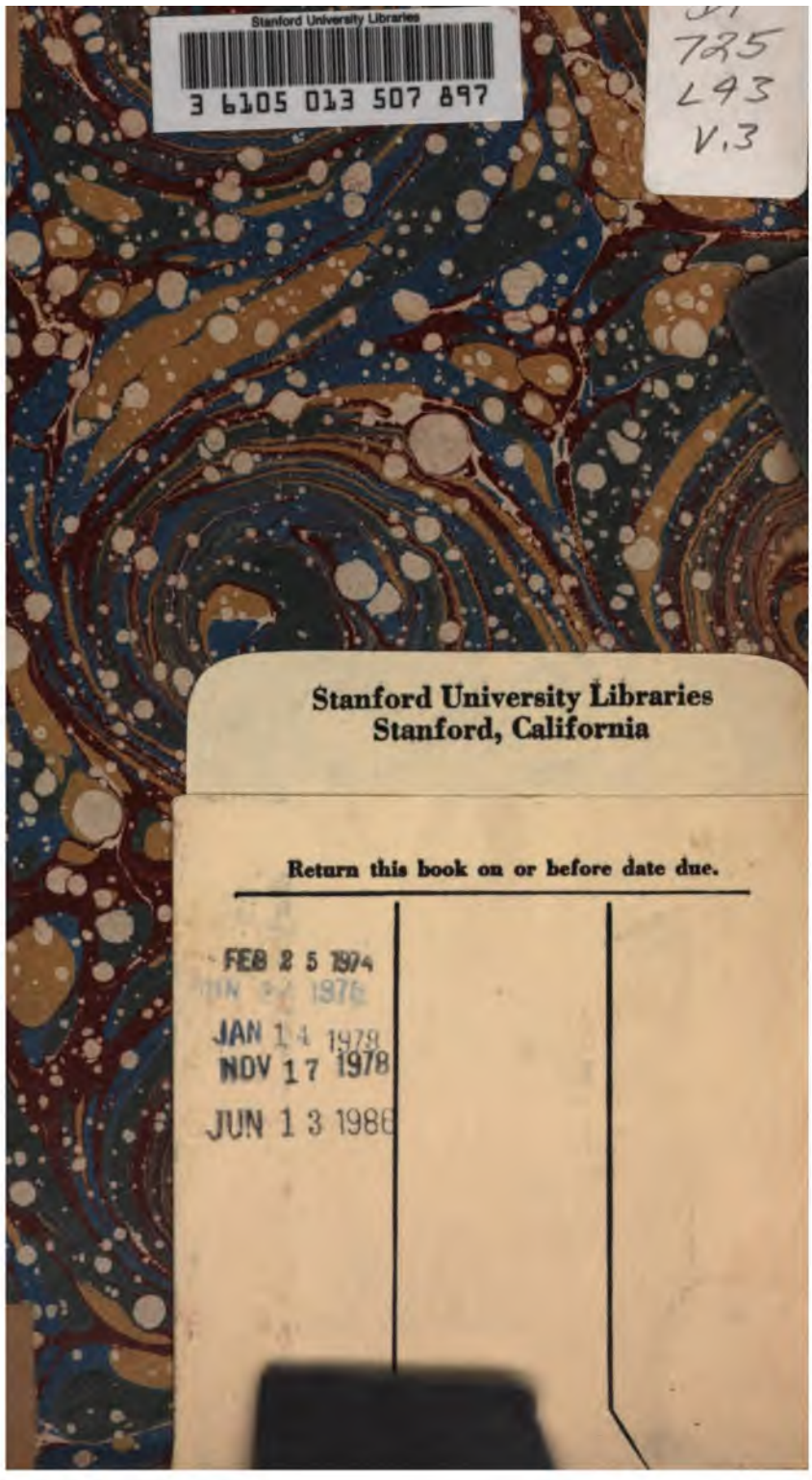
N°. 159. At Préryza - from Nicopolis.

N°. 160. At Préryza - brought from Nicopolis.



J. Netherclift Lithog.

DF
L4
V.


Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 013 507 897
725
L93
V.3
Stanford University Libraries
Stanford, California
Return this book on or before date due.
FEB 2 5 1974
JAN 14 1979
NOV 17 1978
JUN 13 1986